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THE TRANSACTIONS

AND

JOURNAL OF PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

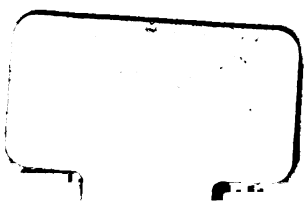
DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY

Natural History & Antiquarian Society.

FOUNDED NOVEMBER, 1862.

SESSION 1894-95.

PRINTED AT THE COURIER AND HERALD OFFICES, DUMFRIES.
1896.



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JAMES S. THOMSON.
JAMES WATT.

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PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY

NATURAL HISTORY & ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

SESSION 1894-95.

18th October, 1894.

ANNUAL MEETING.

Mr WILLIAM J. MAXWELL, M.P., in the Chair.

New Members.—Colonel Edward Blackett of Arbigland and Mr William Barber of Terreran. Mr Frederick R. Coles, of Edinburgh, was elected an honorary member.

Donations. — Cooke & Berkeley's Fungi, presented by Mr William Thomson, Kirkcudbright; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 1894; Report of the British Association, 1893; Catalogue of Grierson's Museum, presented by Mr J. R. Wilson; Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, 1894; Report of Marlborough College Natural History Society, 1893; Proceedings of Natural Science Association of Staten Island, 1893; Transactions of Canadian Institute, 1894; Report of Kirkcaldy Naturalists' Society; Cystopteris Montana in Stirlingshire and Records from the Scilly Isles, by A. Somerville.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

The Secretary (Dr E. J. Chinnock) read the Annual Report:— There are 182 members of the Society, of whom 19 are honorary and 8 life members. Ten new members were elected during the year. The Society sustained a loss by the removal from the town of two active members, Mr Robert M'Glashan and the Rev. Robert Macintosh. This was somewhat counterbalanced by the accession to our working membership of Mr Peter Gray,

who for many years has been an honorary member and a frequent contributor to our Transactions. Eight evening meetings and two field meetings have been held. At the former 25 papers were read, some of which were of permanent value, and all of which were interesting. The communications of Messrs M'Andrew, Johnstone, Coles, Murray, Shaw, Dudgeon, and Fingland were especially valuable. In the absence of Mr Scott-Elliot in Africa, the herbarium has been carefully protected and enlarged by Miss Hannay. Mr Andson has continued his meteorological observations with unremitting diligence. Unfortunately the bad weather prevented us from having more than two summer excursions, one to Leadhills and the other to Threave Castle.

Treasurer's Report.

The Treasurer (Mr J. A. Moodie) read his Annual Report, from the 1st October, 1893, to the 30th September, 1894 :—

CHARGE.

Balance in Savings Bank at close of last Account				£4	10 0
,, ,, Treasurer's hands ,, ,, ,,				0	15 2½
				£5	5 2½
Subscriptions from 123 Members at 5s each	£30	15	0		
Subscriptions from 12 Members at 2s 6d	1	10	0		
				32	5 0
Entrance Fees from 8 New Members				1	0 0
Two Subscriptions paid in advance for next year				0	10 0
Arrears paid—two Subscriptions				0	10 0
Copies of Transactions sold				0	11 3
Interest on Bank Account				0	5 6
				£40	6 11½

DISCHARGE.

Paid Salary of Keeper of Rooms	£1	10	0
,, for Stationery, Printing, and Advertising ...	1	12	6
,, ,, Periodicals and Books	2	6	4
,, ,, Repairs to Building	2	0	7
,, ,, Coals and Gas	0	8	1
,, ,, Premium of Fire Insurance	0	4	6
,, Secretary's Outlays and Postages	1	8	5
,, Treasurer's ,, ,, ...	1	0	6
Carry forward	£10	10	11

Brought forward				£10	10	11
Paid Expenses of calling Meetings, as follows :—						
Post Cards	£3	16	6½			
Paid for addressing same ...	1	2	0			
,, R. Johnstone for printing same	0	19	4			
				5	17	10½
Paid Expenses of publishing Transactions for last year, as follows :—						
Paid Account to Wood & Son, Photo. Lithographers, Edinburgh	£0	11	1½			
Paid Postage of Transactions to Country Members ...	0	9	0			
Paid *Dumfries Herald* for printing Transactions ...	21	14	6			
				22	14	7½
Miscellaneous				0	11	4
				£39	14	9
Balance in Savings Bank	£0	15	6			
Deduct Balance due to Treasurer ...	0	3	3½			
				0	12	2½
				£40	6	11½

(Sgd.) J. A. MOODIE, *Hon. Treasurer.*

DUMFRIES, *4th December, 1894.*—I have examined the foregoing Account and the Cash Book of the Society, compared them with the Vouchers, and find the Balances stated to be correct.

(Sgd.) JOHN NEILSON.

ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS.

The following were elected Office-bearers and Members of the Council for the ensuing session :—*President*—Sir James Crichton-Browne, F.R.S.; *Vice-Presidents*—Rev. William Andson, Messrs Thomas M'Kie, William J. Maxwell, and James G. H. Starke; *Secretary*—Edward J. Chinnock, LL.D.; *Treasurer*—Mr John A. Moodie; *Librarian*—Mr James Lennox; *Curator of Museum*—Mr Peter Gray; *Curators of Herbarium*—Mr George F. Scott Elliot and Miss Hannay. *Members of the Council*—Messrs James Barbour, James Davidson, Thomas Laing, James C. R. Macdonald, Robert Murray, John Neilson, George H. Robb, James M. Ross, James S. Thomson, and James Watt.

The Rev. Sir EMILIUS LAURIE, Bart., M.A., then read a paper entitled—"The Home of Annie Laurie" :—

The home of Annie Laurie enjoys any notoriety which it may possess, not from its antiquity, for there are many older houses

even in this part of Scotland, not from any peculiarity of structure, not from any part that it has played in history; but from its association with the name of Annie Laurie; and that lady owes her fame, such as it is, not to any accident of birth or to anything remarkable in her character or career, but simply to the song composed by the man she threw over. The air was, as you know, composed by a lady who is still living, Lady John Scott of Spottiswoode, widow of a brother of the late Duke of Buccleuch. The song, however, is old. Annie, or more correctly, Anna Laurie was born at Barjarg in December, 1682. She was the youngest of four daughters of Sir Robert Laurie and Jean Riddell, daughter of Riddell of Minto. In due course she became engaged to Douglas of Fingland, who composed the song in her honour. For what reason history does not tell; whether the engagement went off on the settlements, or was off by mutual consent, or was a simple case of jilting, I know not; but in spite of the lyric, in spite of "her promise true," in spite of the personality of her lover, Miss Anna threw him over, and married Alexander Fergusson of Craigdarroch. Douglas, however, seems to have survived the disappointment; he did not "lay him doun and dee," but married one Betty Clark of Glenboig. His poetic phrenzy, however, must have died out, for there is no second lyric handed down descriptive of the swan-like neck and dark blue e'e of Betty Clark; possibly she could not compete in beauty with her rival, possibly the braes of Glenboig were not as bonnie as those of Maxwelton. The song, I have said, was old. I had a curious confirmation of this a few years ago. A lady and gentleman, Mr and Mrs Bennoch, of London (he was a native of Durisdeer), spent a day at Maxwelton. In the course of conversation Mrs Bennoch, then a lady of perhaps 70, told me the following anecdote:—"When I was a girl I was staying in Yorkshire, and being asked to sing I sang the song of Annie Laurie. An old lady, a Miss Douglas, aged 90, was in the room; she complimented me upon my singing, and then said—'But those are nae the words my grandfather wrote.' She then gave a slightly different version of the first verse, saying that her father had often repeated them to her, as taught him by his father, the Douglas who wrote the song." This is strong confirmatory evidence of the genuineness and authenticity of the song in question. So far as we know, then, there was nothing remarkable about Miss Anna Laurie; her first lover immortalised

her by a song, and a lady of great musical gifts in our own day has immortalised the song by the air to which she set it.

But what is there to say about Annie's *Home?* It existed in her time, it exists now; what has the old house to say about itself? The Maxwelton estate was bought in 1611 by Stephen Laurie, a merchant in this town, having previously for some 200 years belonged to the Earls of Glencairn. In Van Gent's map of Scotland, bearing date 1654, the house is depicted as a castle, and called "Glenkairn Castel," with a farm near it called "Maxweltown." When the old name was changed I do not know; possibly Stephen Laurie or his son, having no connection with the family of Lord Glencairn, took the name of Laurie of Maxwelton, that being the name of the farm on which the castle stood, and that name gradually dispossessed the old one. The site of Glencairn Castle was well chosen, whether for beauty or for defence. It stands on the northern side of the Cairn valley, upon a small promontory of rock, running out from one of the spurs of the Keir range of hills; the ground behind it dips to the north before it reaches the steep slopes of the hillside; it falls somewhat on the eastern and western sides, whilst to the south it falls at first abruptly, but more leisurely afterwards, down to the river below. The house stands near the opening into Glencairn of the Clan pass, the only depression in the range of hills by which to cross from Nithsdale into the valley of the Cairn. Thus the ground fell on all four sides of the old castle, which must have stood out as a watch-tower, commanding the whole valley; whilst it was admirably placed for disputing the passage of the Clan should any unfriendly attack be attempted from that quarter. There can be no doubt, I think, that the present house stands on the site, and incorporates a large portion of the old castle; the two in fact are practically one. It occupies three sides of a quadrangle, of which a portion of the larger or western wing was burnt down about the middle of the last century. But there remains the rude foundations of the whole house—the tower at the south-west corner and a small turret at the inner north-west angle of the courtyard, two old arches in the eastern wing, and many portions of a wall of great thickness, that of the tower being five feet, and one within the western wing being twelve feet thick. In "The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland," by Macgibbon & Ross, the building which bears the nearest resemblance to Maxwelton is

Edzell Castle in Forfarshire, belonging to the third period of Scottish architecture, from 1400 to 1542, during which period the keep-tower began to be enlarged into a building surrounding a courtyard or quadrangle. In the later examples of that period a turret is introduced, as at Edzell and Maxwelton, into the re-entering angle of the wing, so as to give convenient access to the room on either side of the angle. Edzell Castle consists of a 15th century tower, enlarged in the 16th century into a building round a quadrangle, and, as is the case at Maxwelton, the garden adjoins the Castle on the south. In the 15th and 16th centuries the Maxwelton estate belonged to the Earls of Glencairn. The title was granted in 1488, and I am disposed to think that about that time the original building was erected, or possibly a still older building re-constructed, and the designation of Glenkairn Castle given to it by the Earl of that name. This makes the home of Annie Laurie to have been about 200 years old when she was born, or 400 years old at the present date. A vaulted chamber, which occupied the first floor of the tower, goes by the name of "Annie Laurie's boudoir"; though I much doubt whether the fourth daughter of a country gentlemen possessed such a luxury 200 years ago. It may possibly have been a small oratory. More authentic are the portraits of Annie and her husband, Alexander Fergusson, son of the Fergusson who was killed at Killiecrankie in 1689, which have never been out of the family, and which I was fortunate enough to acquire by purchase some years ago. For nearly 300 years, then, the present family has been in possession of Maxwelton. The property was originally a large one, Craigdarroch and Maxwelton dividing the greater part of the parish of Glencairn between them; but on the failure of the Ayr Bank of Douglas, Heron & Co., in 1772, after two years of as neat an exhibition of knavery and folly as any modern company promoter might find it difficult to surpass, four-fifths or more of the property was sold to cover calls, which, it is said, amounted to £1400 per share.

The first owner of Maxwelton, Stephen Laurie, was a flourishing Dumfries merchant, and married Marion, daughter of Provost Corsane, receiving with her, it is said, a large fortune. Anyhow, they bought Maxwelton of the Earl of Glencairn. His son John married Agnes Grierson, of the Lag family, and their marriage stone is still preserved over an old doorway at Maxwelton—J.L. A.G., 1641, with crest and arms, and underneath in Latin, "Ni

cœpta Dominus juverit frustra struis moles superbas œdium." Their son Robert married Jean Riddell, and their marriage stone still exists. Anna Laurie was their daughter. He was created a Baronet in 1685, Anna being then three years old. Their son Walter married Jane Nisbet; and their son Robert married Christian Erskine, daughter of Charles Erskine of Alva, a Lord of Session by the title of Lord Barjarg, and afterwards Lord Justice Clerk. This marriage linked the family on to all kinds of ancient fellows—Erskines, Mars, Murrays, &c., some of them possibly worthy of no great praise, but playing a prominent part in the history of the country. The son of Robert Laurie and Christian Erskine was General Sir Robert Laurie, for 30 years Member for this County. His wife was Elizabeth Ruthven, a daughter of Lord Ruthven, and through her mother a granddaughter of the second Earl of Bute. They had two children, a son, Admiral Sir Robert Laurie, who died in 1848, and a daughter, my mother's mother, who married Mr Fector, of Dover. The last survivor of that family died in 1892 at the age of 88, and with her the name of Fector, or Vechter, as it was originally, became extinct. I have said that in all its early generations the family inhabiting the home of Annie Laurie remained purely Scotch, but that has not been the case more recently. The earliest members of the Laurie family appear to have been strong adherents of the Reformation. I do not know about Stephen; he was possibly too much taken up with making money, and investing it in the purchase of a large estate; but his son, John, was one of the Dumfriesshire Committee for advancing the Covenanting cause, and in 1662 was fined £3600 Scots for not conforming to the prelatical commands of Charles II. He had married, however, Agnes Grierson, of the Lag family, possibly not bad diplomacy in those dangerous times. He does not seem, however, to have changed his opinions himself, but his son, Robert, adopted the political principles of his mother's family, and became one of the most active supporters of the King and Claverhouse. In 1685 James II. created him a Baronet "for his merits," and we know what that meant with the Popish King, and shortly afterwards he justified the King's opinion of him by sentencing William Smith to death, the son of one of his own workmen, for refusing to betray the hiding places of the Covenanters. The inscription now to be read on his tombstone in Tynron Churchyard contains the words—"Douglas of Stenhouse,

Laurie of Maxwelton caused Cornet Bailie give me martyrdom." This is one side of the picture, we will now travel somewhat afield for the other, and, as I hold, the happier and the better side. In the 16th century the ancient family of de Bailleul had long owned estates in Spanish Flanders; but, having embraced the principles of the Reformation, they emigrated in the next century from Spanish Flanders, then under Philip II. and the Inquisition, to French Flanders, and thence, when persecution began under Louis XIV., to England, where they purchased property near Peterborough, and intermarrying with the families around them, were ere long known by the English name of Bayley. From one of those Protestant refugees my father's family is descended. Thus shortly before the time at which Sir Robert Laurie was sentencing William Smith to death for adherence to Reformation principles, an ancestor on my father's side was, for the sake of the same principles, forsaking his own country, and seeking refuge in England. But we have another link with the principles of the Reformation. In the year in which William Smith was put to death, a member of the French family of Minet, Isaac by name, was carrying on business in Calais. In that year the edict of Nantes was revoked by Louis XIV. The persecution of the Protestants became exceedingly severe, and Isaac Minet, who had embraced the new faith, was cast into prison, and told by the president that if he did not sign to be a Roman Catholic he would be burnt. He, however, made his escape, and with other members of his family, 23 persons in all, crossed by night in an open boat to Dover, and there founded a banking house. He was joined in due course by his nephew, Peter Fector or Vechter, a native of Mulhausen, who, with his father, had married into the Minet family, and together they carried on for many years the bank of Minet and Fector, now absorbed into the National Provincial Bank of England. The son of Peter Fector and Mary Minet was my mother's father, as also of the late Mr Laurie (formerly Fector) of Maxwelton. Thus whilst on my father's side we claim direct descent from the victims of Roman Catholic persecution, we claim a like connection on my mother's side also, and can show that at the very time that the one ancestor was doing the Covenanter to death, other ancestors were bearing witness to Reformation principles, and forsaking their own country for ever rather than renounce them. And this

much I may perhaps be allowed to add, that to the industry and high character of these Protestant refugees and their descendants we owe the modest fortune that has come down to us, and which enables us to prolong the occupation by our family of the home of Annie Laurie. But more than this; we all, I suppose, value that principle of association which clothes the world with memories of the past, and finds in the beauties that surround us the background of human history. It is the want of this that is felt so deeply by our American cousins, and makes them feel that the old world is so much richer than the new. I was travelling to Windsor some years ago in company with some American gentlemen, and as we crossed the Thames one of them said—"Oh! that's your river Thames is it? In our country we should call it a ditch." I answered—"Yes, I daresay you would; but in your country you have no ditches, or rivers either, with Oxford, and Windsor Castle, and Runnymede, and Westminster Abbey, and the Tower of London on their banks." "No," he said, "you have me there." And to illustrate great principles by small facts, it is this love of association with old memories which prompted an American to write to me last year to ask for some roots of ivy from our house, saying that many would value cuttings taken from the home of Annie Laurie; and which induced another American, bearing our name, to invite me, in virtue of some possible connection with us in the past, to visit Chicago at the exhibition, with a free offer of the rights of hospitality. I confess that I find in the house in which we live, verified in connection with the family history of those who inhabit it, a not altogether barren application of the law of association. There may well have been sound religious principle in that grandfather of Annie Laurie, who placed the motto already quoted under his marriage stone. So with the author of another motto over an old farmhouse door on the property—"The fear of God be in this house." The humble title which I bear is not that granted to my persecuting ancestor by the second James (that has died out), but that granted much more recently, on his retirement from the bench after 27 years of judicial life, to my father's father, described as "a learned and upright judge, noted as well for his benevolence as for his erudition." I have nothing to unlearn from him.

8th November, 1894.

Mr JAMES G. H. STARKE, M.A., in the Chair.

New Member.—Captain William Stewart of Shambellie.

Donations.—Journal of the Elisha Mitchell Scientific Society, North Carolina, 1893; Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1892; Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution; and the Pamunkey Indians of Virginia; the Maya Year; and the Bibliography of Wakashan Languages (published by the same Bureau).

Exhibit.—Mr Starke exhibited a Cell found at Goldielea a few years ago.

COMMUNICATIONS.

1. *Botanical Notes for 1894.*

By JAMES M'ANDREW, New-Galloway.

WIGTOWNSHIRE.—During the past summer (1894) Mr Dugald MacFarlane, B.A., Greenock, and I were fortunate in adding a few more new plants to the Flora of Wigtownshire. The following six plants are new records for that county:—1, *Ranunculus Lenormandi*, growing in hill ditches cleaned out last year, on the south side of Kilitringan Fell, Portpatrick, &c.; 2, *Ranunculus circinatus*, growing in abundance at the south end of Soulseat Loch; 3, *Calamintha acinos*, with every appearance of being wild, on an earth dyke between Castle-Kennedy Station and Soulseat Loch; 4, *Sisymbrium thaliana*, at Port Kale, Portpatrick (this is a spring plant, and has almost disappeared before July or August); 5, *Bromus sterilis*, close to the gamekeeper's cottage, Dunskey; 6, *Carex filiformis*, found by the Rev. James Gorrie, F.C., Sorbie, in Prestrie Loch, Whithorn.

Among other interesting plants not formerly seen by me around Portpatrick may be mentioned—*Radiola millegranna*, in several places among the moors; *Scrophularia aquatica*, in a ditch near the gamekeeper's cottage, Dunskey; *Pulicaria dysenterica*, on the grassy slopes between Portpatrick and Dunskey Glen; *Juncus glaucus*, *Carex intermedia*, *Calystegia soldanella*, in Knock Bay; *Euphorbia portlandica*, North of Port o' Spital; *Lycopodium clavatum*, on the old Stranraer road, about four miles east of Portpatrick (this confirms this plant for

Wigtownshire); *Nasturtium palustre*, in Poltanton Burn; *Carex remota*, in Genoch Woods; *Sayina subulata*, in Torrs Warren; *Trifolium striatum*, on the road into the piggery at Dunragit Creamery; *Callitriche autumnalis*, in Soulseat Loch; and *Ornithopus perpusillus* in abundance in the adjoining fields.

Among mosses the following are worthy of record:—*Didymodon luridus* and *Dicranella varia*, var. *callistomum*, on mud banks on the west side of Loch Ryan; *Didymodon flexifolius*, on the moors; and *Splachnum ampullaceum*, on dung. The three following Hepaticæ may be noted, as they are by no means common:—*Aneura latifrons*, growing with the two mosses already mentioned on the shore of Loch Ryan; *Riccia glaucescens*, on Lagganmore Moor, on the Port o' Spital road; and in a field adjoining, abundance of *Anthocerus punctatus*. *Riccia glaucescens* I formerly found by the side of Dunskey Lakes, and also on Burnfoot Hill, New-Galloway, and misnamed it *Riccia bifurca* (readers will kindly make this correction in my "List of Mosses and Hepaticæ"). Near Portpatrick I found the lichens *Parmelia revoluta* in fruit; *Coccocarpia plumbea*, at the mouth of Dunskey Glen; and the rare lichen, *Cladonia leptophylla*, on the moors around Portpatrick. Several years ago I discovered this *Cladonia* around New-Galloway, and its discovery around Portpatrick extends the distribution to the west of Wigtownshire.

KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE.—Around New-Galloway since last year I have found the following cryptogams:—The moss, *Hypnum crista-castrensis* (the ostrich feather moss), in two places in the Garroch Glen, and also *Hypnum callichroum*, Brid., near it; and the following Hepaticæ new to this district—*Radula aquilegia*, Tayl.; *Eucalyx hyalina*, Lyell; *Aplozia sphærocarpa*, Hook.; *Lophozia porphyroleuca*, Nees; *Lejeunea serpyllifolia*, var. *planiuscula*, Lindb.; var. *cavifolia*, Ehrh.; and *Nardia compressa*, Gray.

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2. *Some Kirkbean Folklore.*

By Mr SAMUEL ARNOTT, Carsethorn.

It must be said that the record of ghosts seems a long one for so small a parish. Six in a district about six miles in length, and averaging only three miles broad, seem a liberal allowance,

and make it appear that such unwelcome parishioners were plentiful enough. Even this is exclusive of one of which nothing is known, but whose memory is only kept green by the name of the old Castle of Wreaths, which is said to be derived from the word "wraith" or apparition. The ghost itself seems to have vanished, and it probably disappeared with the destruction of the dense forest which is said to have surrounded the old castle.

Taking the haunts of the ghosts in the order of a journey from Dumfries, the first is that which is said to have been frequented by a lady in white. This is on the main road shortly after entering the parish and close to a plantation of trees. Here in the shade of the trees, and with no sound near save the rushing of a neighbouring stream, this lady is said to have alarmed the passers-by. No one can tell me anything more about this ghost, and it is probable that even its reputed existence would have been forgotten had it not been that the belief in this supernatural being was turned to account in an ingenious way. A young woman living at a neighbouring farm was in the habit of meeting her sweetheart at a part of the road near the haunted spot, and in order to secure herself from annoyance was wont to wear a white sheet when going to the trysting place. Tradition says that this love affair was none the less prosperous from the apparent want of reverence for the supernatural, but that the lovers were eventually joined in the bonds of matrimony.

The next ghost we hear of with more detail, and the story is a tragic one with an ending in sharp contrast to that of the one just told. It is said to have haunted what is known as the "Three Cross Roads," near Arbigland, a lonely spot, where, on a wild night, the dread feeling which was in these days felt in the deep darkness caused by the surrounding trees must have been intensified by the sound of the wind through their branches, and the roar of the waves of the boisterous Solway. The ghost was generally supposed to be that of a young man, and the tale is a romantic one, which, in the hands of an accomplished novelist, would form a thrilling narrative. As is pretty well known, Arbigland at one time belonged to a family of the name of Craik. Its then representative had a daughter who, it is said, had become attached to a young man named Dunn, who was in her father's employment as a groom or horse-breaker. One day a shot was heard, and soon after the lifeless body of Dunn was found near where the ghost was said afterwards to appear. In

the eyes of the law, the sad occurrence was considered a case of suicide; but popular belief took an opposite view, and attributed it to the murderous act of one of Miss Craik's brothers, who had discovered the attachment between his sister and Dunn, and in his anger at the discovery, had taken the young man's life. It is said that Miss Craik was of the latter opinion, and that she left Arbigland and went to reside in England, never returning to the place so full to her of tragedy. The remains of Dunn were interred on the Borron Hill, and years afterwards disinterred by a man in the neighbourhood, the skeleton being, it is said, sent to Miss Craik. With the prevailing opinion regarding this ghastly tale, it is little wonder that the apparition of the unfortunate man was said to frequent the lonely spot where he met his death. It was hardly to be expected, however, that a haunted place like this should be deserted by the white ladies so familiar in ghost stories, and whose affection for Kirkbean seems somewhat remarkable, and one of my informants speaks of a white lady who was said to appear here also. The weight of the authority (if I am justified in using such a phrase in this connection) is, however, almost exclusively in favour of the tradition that the apparition was that of Dunn.

Between Kirkbean and Prestonmill there is a considerable stretch of road without a dwelling-house, the greater part being skirted by a wood on one side. About half-way between the two villages a small plantation exists on the opposite side to the larger wood. Here, too, the road forms a hollow, and surely no situation could have been more congenial to the tastes of such unearthly beings as those we are now considering. This was, in truth, the haunt of a ghost whose existence few at one time ever doubted; and he was, indeed, a brave man who ventured to walk alone on a dark night into the domains of the white lady, who was said not only to walk on the tops of the trees in the adjoining wood, but also sometimes to accompany passengers on the highway. There is in connection with the belief in this ghost an amusing tale, which has the additional merit of being true. One night a parishioner, accompanied by some of his relatives, was driving homewards, and his route led him through the "Howlet's Close," as the domains of the white lady were called. In passing through this they were much alarmed by seeing something running beside the head of the horse. Naturally enough this was supposed to be the ghost, and their

state of fear may be imagined. On emerging from the darkness it was seen, however, that the cause of alarm was their own collie dog. I have only been able to hear of one person who declared positively that he had seen this ghost. This man was driving home with his horse and cart when, as he declared to the last, he saw the white lady at the head of the horse as it passed through the darkest part of the wood. His terror was very great; but it may be as well to say that, while his belief in this tale was genuine, it is none the less true that he was addicted to the free use of "John Barleycorn." It is not for me to say that on this occasion this habit made the appearance of the ghost a little apocryphal. No one seems to know the origin of this lady in white.

The next ghost of which we hear is one which did not haunt the place in a visible form, but was only audible. The tenant of a farm some little distance from the place where the white lady appeared had fallen into difficulties, and, rather than face his creditors, committed suicide. The deed was viewed with even greater horror than would have been the case at the present time, and it was difficult to persuade anyone to stay in the house while the remains were in it. Three men living in the neighbourhood at last consented, and were sitting in the kitchen, while they kept their vigil, and talking at times of the dead man and his doings, or reviewing the ordinary news of the district. While they were thus occupied a footstep was heard in the passage, and to their horror it sounded like that of the suicide. So struck with fear were they that for a time no one would venture from the kitchen, and meanwhile the footstep seemed to go to the foot of the stair leading to the rooms above, and to return along the passage. At last one of the men, more courageous than the rest, said, "In the strength o' God, I'll gaun up the hoose," and mustering up his courage went along the passage to the room where the corpse lay. He saw and heard nothing on the way, and found the body as it had been left, and without any sign of having been disturbed. For years this "uncanny" sound was heard occasionally, to the great alarm of those in the house who thought they heard it. One woman, whose son told me the tale, was in the house alone, her employers and fellow-servants being out when she heard the footstep coming along the passage to the foot of the stair and returning. She appears to have had less timidity than many, for she not only

went into the passage, but searched the rooms and a place where wood was stored, and could see no one. It is not within the scope of this paper to endeavour to explain these things. They are given as they were related to me.

Nearly half-way between Prestonmill and Mainsriddell is a lonely and gloomy part of the road known as the "How o' the Derry's Hills," more briefly the "Derry's How," or, in English, the "Dairymaid's Hollow." This place was haunted by an unearthly thing in the form of a black dog—a common enough form in demonology. There seems also to have been a belief that this "bogle," as it was called, assumed various forms, and one dark night when three women were passing along the road at this place they were alarmed by a strange rushing sound which seemed to come over the hedge to cross the road, and then go over the hedge on the side opposite to that by which it entered. Two of the women, unhesitatingly affirmed that it was "the bogle," but the third, who had little faith in the supernatural, thought it might perhaps have been one of the peacocks from the adjacent farm of Torrorie. A medical man who lived in one of the neighbouring villages, and whose profession caused him to traverse the district at all hours, used to say that one night in going through the "Derry's How" he saw the form of a lady dressed in white. The only other ghost I have been able to hear of frequented a field called the "Murder Fall," above Torrorie. This ghost is said to have been that of a man who had been hanged in this field, and whose appearance, to say the least of it, must have been a little singular. When seen he had a pair of "cleps" round his neck. "Cleps" are moveable handles which were placed on large pots, such as those formerly used for washing purposes, or for boiling pig's-meat. Nothing seems to have been known of who this man was, or what was his offence.

As showing that ghosts were generally believed to follow upon deeds of violence, the following incident may perhaps be appositely given now:—A tradesman in the parish had, in a moment of passion, struck his apprentice a blow with his hammer, which is said to have caused the death of the lad. From that time the man dared not enter his workshop after dark lest he should be confronted by the ghost of the dead apprentice. More than this, for at least some years after the sad occurrence he would not fall asleep at night if he knew there was even the smallest quantity of water in the house. He was afraid that he might be

drowned while asleep, as a punishment for the fatal blow he had given.

Up to the time of writing this I have only been able to hear one instance of the appearance of the apparition of a living person—an omen which was believed to foretell death or disaster to the person whose vision was seen. A man, who was going towards a farm house to call at the house of one of the cotmen, saw, as he imagined, the cotman's wife come from the house towards a stream which flowed close by, and return with water. He followed at once, and on entering the house saw the woman at work baking. He was astonished to see her at work in such an incredibly short time, and remarked to the woman that she had surely been very quick. The woman asked what he meant, and on being informed said she had not been out of the house. Unfortunately the misfortune which was believed to follow such an apparition has not been recorded in this case.

Tradition tells not only of a reputed witch just over the border of an adjoining parish, but who, so far as I can learn, was innocent, but also of one who seems to have traded upon her reputation as such. Some of the parishioners would have gone a long way out of their paths to avoid meeting her for fear of her evil eye.

One of the tales told about this woman was that one day a party of sportsmen from Cavens were shooting on Criffel, and one of the party observed a hare sitting on a large granite boulder. Levelling his gun at the hare he fired, and it fell over behind the boulder. On going to pick up his game no hare was to be found, but in its stead was the witch, who was standing rubbing her thigh. The belief was that she had taken the form of a hare, and had thus deceived the sportsmen. Another tale, which is, I believe, quite true, shows how deep was the belief in her supernatural powers. Curling was in progress in the parish, and the devotees of the "roaring game" were anxious that their pleasure should not be interfered with by a thaw. One enthusiast, who occupied no unimportant position in the parish, and who was a devout believer in the supernatural, went to the old woman and promised her a pair of new shoes on condition that she secured them three days' hard frost. The three days' frost succeeded, the shoes were given, and belief in the old woman's powers was greatly strengthened. One of my informants gravely assured me that he had seen the shoes himself. The same curler when taking

part in a match for the silver snuff-box, which is the coveted prize in the parish club, was in the habit of asking this woman to throw snowballs or a broom after him for luck as he went over the hill just beyond Kirkbean on his way to the pond. The fairy lore is exceedingly meagre, and only relates to the appearance of the "little folk" at one particular time and in one locality. On Hallowe'en night the fairies were said to pass, with drums beating, in procession through the village of Prestonmill, and to repair to a neighbouring mound called Hangman Hill, on which, as I said in my paper on the antiquities of the parish, a *kist vaen* had been found. Here they passed the night dancing, only dispersing at dawn of day.

A curious piece of folklore is the legend relating to the existence of a large diamond on Criffel. It is many years since I heard this for the first time when staying at Southerness. The story is that seamen on board vessels coming up the Solway can, on clear nights, see the gleaming of a large diamond, which is lying on Criffel, but although it can be seen a long distance off, when searched for it cannot be found, although the search may be most carefully made. As a matter of course, no consideration is given to the matter-of-fact reasoning which would point out that a diamond which could be visible so far off must be of dimensions which would make the Koh-i-noor and even larger gems pale into insignificance. If anything of the nature of a brilliant light is seen it is probably due to that of the moon glittering on some granite block or some small streamlet flowing over a boulder, a sight less likely to excite the cupidity of the observer, but immeasurably more full of delight to the lover of the beautiful than any diamond, however brilliant it may be. With this legend I close meanwhile, leaving to a future time, if you will allow me that pleasure, the story of the remaining folk-lore, including the lucky and unlucky omens and miscellaneous superstitions, which it takes some time to collect. Singularly enough, as it seems to me, this little parish, laved by the waters of the restless Solway, which has claimed its many victims in storm and in calm, seems to have no traditions of ghosts which haunt the Firth, nor of the visions which in other waters have lured to destruction those who risk the dangers of the deep.

3. *Recollections of Dumfries 60 years ago.*

By Dr Robert Hibbert Taylor, Liverpool.

One of my earliest recollections of Dumfries is in 1820, being taken into the town to see the illuminations for Queen Caroline's acquittal. The town must have been very loyal to the Queen, as the illuminations and rejoicing were very general. Another early recollection is having witnessed the procession of "King Crispin,' when all the assembled trades, in gala attire, and bearing the various emblems of their crafts, walked in procession through the principal streets of the town. The royal crown was borne upon a velvet cushion, and a champion in full armour rode before his majesty, and defied the world to question his legal rights. Bands of music, and gorgeous flags and banners of various forms and devices, accompanied the triumphal march, and all went "merrie as a marriage bell." The festival was a great event for youthful spectators, and, indeed, it excited the curiosity and awoke the sympathy of the entire civic population. I am afraid that the conclusion of the spectacle was not always so orderly and edifying as the commencement, and that the enthusiasm with which the "king's" health was drunk not infrequently run to excess under the inspiring influence of "John Barleycorn." The pageant of "King Crispin" was, I believe, enacted at stated intervals of years, but has long since passed away and been forgotten, except by those whose memories are as far-reaching as my own. Mr Starke of Troqueer Holm says that he saw the "Crispin" procession in 1863.

On one occasion after the celebration of some civic festivity and procession, a local poet is said to have given vent to his feelings in the following lines, containing an arithmetical computation which would puzzle even Cocker himself to unravel—

> Before the foremost walked with great respect
> Convener Deacon Alexander Affleck;
> Next unto him walked the hammer-men,
> In twos and twos, twice four equal to ten.

Another festival in which the Dumfriesians always took a lively interest is what was known as shooting for the "Siller Gun." This object was a small model in silver of a gun or pistol, presented to the town by King James VI., to encourage the use of firearms, and was awarded to the best shot at a target when

the prize was competed for. The contest took place at stated intervals, every seven years I believe, and the scene of action was the Kingholm, as affording suitable space for the erection of targets, and the accommodation of the numerous combatants and spectators who usually assembled. How far this practice tended to enhance the skill of the marksmen in handling the musket I cannot say, but I have been told that a spectator of the fray cynically remarked that he thought the target was the safest place in the field. The last occasion on which the "Siller Gun" was competed for on the Kingholm was, according to Mr M'Dowall, in 1828. But a more recent competition took place elsewhere in 1831, when it was finally won by Deacon Alexander Johnston, and was carried by him in the great procession which took place in the burgh at the celebration of Burns' Centenary.

In the olden times of which I now write, the streets of Dumfries were lighted with oil lamps, a very imperfect mode of illumination compared with the brilliant gas and electricity of the present day. The little "winkies" were made to display their feeble glimmer by a town functionary, who, armed with a flaming torch and a short ladder, ascended each lamp post in succession, and applied the needful fire. This useful citizen was an object of much interest and jocularity to the "small boys" of the town, who used to follow him shouting—"Leary, leary, licht the lamps; lang legs and short shanks." The trimming of the lamps, which took place next morning, was rather a comical performance, at least so I used to think. "Leary" ascended his ladder as before at each post, provided with a can of oil and a pair of scissors. The tin cover of the lamp was then removed, and, to leave his hands at liberty, was usually placed on the top of his hat, while he trimmed the wick and filled the shallow oil vessel.

My early recollections of Dumfries watchmen are derived from the experience of a night occasionally spent at the house of a relative who resided in the burgh. The guardian of the night was armed with a lantern, and as he passed along on his tour of inspection announced in loud tones the hour of night, accompanied with certain meteorological observations regarding the state of the atmosphere, and the general appearance of the heavens. Thus, I have heard the following announcement—"Past ten o'clock; a fine starry night."

Another object of interest on these occasions was the passing of the Portpatrick mail coach, which used to leave the town at ten o'clock in the evening. It halted at the Post Office, at the top of Buccleuch Street, to take up the letter bags; and then, with sound of horn and flash of lamps, if the season was late, and trampling of hurrying steeds, it swept down the street, and disappeared in the darkness of the night, a passing vision of wonder and delight to the youthful imagination.

A notable character in the burgh at this time was the "town crier," John Crosbie, who, I have been told, undertook the office more for the love of it than from any necessity. He was always neatly and comfortably dressed, and had a dignified and important air, which consorted well with his vocation. Being on friendly terms with an old lady, a relative of mine who resided in Buccleuch Street, he was in the habit of drawing up in front of her house, and after pealing his bell to invite attention, he would deliver the tidings he had to communicate in a loud and sententious manner, and concluding abruptly, would wheel about and proceed on his round. I have heard him announce the sale of salmon at the "fish cross" at sixpence the pound, a price unknown at the present day.

Another frequenter of the streets, but of a very different type, was a poor half-witted man named "Jamie Pagan." He would be seen at times wandering aimlessly along, clad in garments which might have been borrowed from a "potato bogle," with a battered misshapen hat stuck on one side of his head. The children would sometime shout after him, but he was a harmless creature, and did not seem to mind them.

Among the various shopkeepers whom I remember, and who as being public characters and worthy citizens I may name without offence, were Thomas Milligan, a tinsmith, usually known by the significant cognomen of "Tin Tam;" his shop was near the "New Kirk;" John Anderson, the bookseller, in High Street, whose shop was the well-known resort of the *literati* of the town; Robert Watt, an ironmonger, who was located opposite the Midsteeple, and Andrew Montgomery, a popular baker, who was on the other side of the same Steeple. On the Plainstones were William Howat, a draper; John Sinclair, a bookseller; and Peter Mundell, a tobacconist, who afterwards became laird of Bogrie, and attained to civic honours. Messrs Gregan & Creighton conducted an

excellent cabinet making business. Their handiwork was made to last, not merely to sell, for I have sundry specimens of it in my possession at the present time, as good as when put together, more than sixty years ago. The shopkeepers in those days must have made money, for in after years I recognised several of them comfortably located in suburban villas. The principal inn was the King's Arms, then kept by Mr Fraser, who was afterwards Provost of the burgh.

The chief medical men at this date were Doctors Maxwell, Melville, and Symons, and Mr Blacklock, a former navy surgeon. Dr Maxwell I have heard spoken of as "Dagger Maxwell," from some popular notion that he was favourable to the French Revolution. Those who remember Dr Melville will doubtless recollect a peculiar habit he had of hitching up his "pants" when he stopped to speak to any one in the street. They were all able men in their vocation, but differed somewhat in their mode of practice, a licence which is generally accorded to doctors, as well as to poets, without implying any disparagement to either.

The clergy of the Established Church at this period were Dr Scott of St. Michael's, a portly looking gentleman, who in hot weather walked the street carrying his hat in his hand. Dr Duncan was the minister of the New Kirk, and the Rev. Charles Babington, an M.A. of Oxford, was the incumbent of the Episcopal Chapel. The Nonconformist body was represented by the Rev. Walter Dunlop, who was somewhat of a "character," and was gifted with a large amount of ready humour. I have a lively remembrance of his personal appearance—a tall stout man, with a large genial countenance, wearing a broad brimmed hat and a wide skirted coat; walking with a swinging step, and carrying a dark coloured "gamp" umbrella tucked under his arm, with the horn handle projecting from beneath his shoulder. Numerous jokes and witticisms have been laid to his charge, and some of them have appeared in print. The following anecdote concerning him was related to me by the person who was an actor in the scene, and has not, I think, been made public. The Rev. Walter, as not unfrequently happened, going one afternoon to take tea with a member of his congregation, who lived in the country, accidentally met a son of the rev. doctor of the New Kirk, and invited him to accompany him. On arriving at the farm house, he proposed to the inmates to give them "a prayer" before tea, as, I believe, was his custom. The gude wife excused herself

from being present "ben the hoose," as she had to attend to the frying of the ham in the kitchen; but Mr Dunlop obviated the difficulty by saying that she could leave the door open between the apartments, and so would benefit by his ministrations, while at the same time she attended to her duties in the kitchen. This plan was adopted, and Mr Dunlop so managed as to conclude his devotions just as the ham was heard to give the concluding frizzle. On their way home in the evening, Mr Dunlop remarked to his companion—"Mr Tammas, did ye notice hoo I nicket the time?" Another instance of Mr Dunlop's eccentricity I may mention, as I was present on the occasion, and heard the rev. gentleman's remarks. When quite a youth I went one Sunday evening with my mother to hear Mr Dunlop preach, and at the conclusion of the service, which was conducted in his usual broad lowland "Doric," as he descended the pulpit stair he espied my mother, and addressing her in a loud tone, audible to all about him, said—"Glad to see ye here, Mrs Tyler; ye'll hear nothing in this place but soon' doctrine, according to the Shorter Catechism and the Confession o' Faith." Poor Wattie! I do not know what was his end, but I have heard that he lost his popularity, and was in very straitened circumstances at the close of his life.

My first acquaintance with the Academy must have been previous to 1822, when I was pupil with a worthy old gentleman named Haigh, who wore a brown curled wig, and in a sort of paternal fashion instructed a number of juveniles of both sexes in the rudiments of reading and writing. One recollection I have of him was his looking over my shoulder when making some of my first essays in writing, and saying that "I need not add so many fringes to my letters." In 1822 I joined the Latin class then taught by Rector Harkness, a very enthusiastic person, and, I should think, an able scholar. He certainly possessed the faculty of inspiring many of his pupils with his own love of learning. I recollect that he had a large chair constructed after the pattern of the "sella curulis," the public seat of the Roman consuls. This machine, which was ascended by steps, was placed at the top of the class, and was the coveted seat of the "dux," and the cause of many an intellectual contest in order to gain the envied elevation. I have learned from one who was a pupil of the Rector's at a later date, that he was rather severe in the exercise of his authority, and liberal in the use of the

"tawse." It was not so in my time; but there was a large, raw-boned usher who was much given to flagellation, and of whom I retain a very unpleasant remembrance even to this day.

Among the civic notabilities whose names and appearance I can recal were the Town Clerk, Mr Francis Short, commonly known as "Frank Short," and Mr John Staig, whose father was Provost for many years in succession. It was the custom in those days for the chief magistrate, and some others of the civic dignitaries, to walk in procession to church on Sunday, preceded by two halbert men, arrayed in cocked hats and long-skirted coats, and bearing a sort of battleaxe mounted on a pole. On entering the church, these formidable-looking weapons were deposited behind the pews which the magistrates occupied in the front of the gallery. It is to be regretted, I think, that this ancient custom has been discontinued; the appearance in public of the "powers that be," with a certain amount of ceremonial dignity, has a wholesome influence upon the spectators, and may contribute in some measure to render the magistrates what they ought to be, "a terror to evil-doers, and a praise and protection to those that do well."

Another practice which prevailed at this time was the punishment of "rogues and vagabonds" by whipping them publicly in the streets. The culprit was tied to the end of a one-horse cart, which was paraded through the town, a halt being made at intervals, and the scourge applied. At the conclusion of the performance, the "vagabond" was conducted to the confines of the burgh, and "drummed out of the town," I presume to the tune of the "rogue's march!" I think it must have been in recollection of this salutary discipline of former days that a "worthy magistrate" is reported to have addressed a culprit who was brought before him with the remark—"It's a pity whuppen is oot of fashion, or I wad gie ye a gude whuppin!" Another old-fashioned mode of punishment, applied chiefly to those who were drunken and riotous, was to immure them temporarily in a place of confinement facetiously termed the "saut box," which was located in the neighbourhood of the Midsteeple. It is reported of some unfortunate, who had been summarily placed in "durance vile," that he shouted through an aperture in his cell to a passing acquaintance—"Tell oor fowk that I'm here," a rather naive mode of accounting for his non-appearance.

While on the subject of law, and the maintenance of order, I

may mention the name of John Richardson, a very active and intelligent sheriff's officer of this date. On one occasion he was sent in pursuit of David Haggart, who murdered the jailer of the prison where he was confined and made his escape. John is said to have been in close proximity to Haggart in Comlongon woods without discovering him. The latter made for the shore of the Solway, near Seafield, and when Richardson, who was hard behind him, arrived on the beach, Haggart was far out in the Firth in a boat on his way to Cumberland. He was afterwards captured, and hanged at Dumfries, an event which I well remember though I did not witness it.

In the period of which I write the supply of water to the burgh by pipes in the houses must have been very limited, if, indeed, it was conveyed in that manner at all. Pumps and open wells were the principal sources of supply, and one named the Dock Well was a favourite resort for that purpose. Carts with large water barrels also daily perambulated the streets, disposing of their contents to those who required it. When empty, they were filled again from the Nith in a most primitive manner, our worthy forbears not having apparently any fear of bacteria or other vermin, which modern science has discovered to abound in what we eat and drink and in the very air we breathe. I do not know that the citizens suffered in consequence of their ignorance, and although I do not say that in this instance, "where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise," at all events the tranquility of life was not disturbed by apprehensions of having swallowed what might be injurious to health.

Another old fashion occurs to my remembrance in the form of "sedan chairs," one of which at least existed in the burgh, owned probably by Robert M'Clumpha, or M'Clumphy, as he was always applied to when it was required, and acted as the principal bearer. I once had the honour of riding in a "sedan" with my grandmother. Externally it was a rather dismal sentry box looking machine, being covered with black leather, but inside it was comfortable enough, and the motion was not unpleasant as it jogged along at a semi-trot pace, supported on long poles, with a bearer in front and another behind. The "sedan" was convenient in this respect, that it could be carried inside the house for the reception of the intended occupant, who afterwards stepped out in full costume for an evening party at the place of destination. I am rather surprised that it should have fallen

into disuse as, on certain occasions, it possessed sundry advantages, especially for ladies, over the modern vehicles on wheels.

The elderly ladies in those days frequently went out to tea with their neighbours at an early hour in the afternoon, preceded in winter by a "lass with a lantern," and in rainy weather both mistress and maid wore "pattens," a kind of shoe with a rim of iron beneath, which raised the foot a couple of inches from the ground. The six o'clock evening bell was always rung from the steeple of the New Kirk, and often indicated the hour for tea, as well as called the labourers from their daily work—an ancient custom associated with many pleasant memories, and probably continued still.

In former years floods in the Nith were not infrequent, especially at the fall of the year, and sometimes they were both sudden and unexpected. In the course of twelve hours, or less, the river would rise and overflow its banks to a great extent, and flood the streets and houses in the lower part of the town. I remember to have seen a boat navigating what was the Brewery Street, and rescuing the inhabitants from their dwellings; and a worthy son of "Crispin," who bore the appropriate name of Shanks, informed me that on getting out of bed one dark autumn morning he found himself nearly up to his knees in water, from a sudden spate in the Nith which had flooded his dwelling. Quantities of debris, of a very miscellaneous character, were often seen on these occasions floating down the stream—remnants of hay and peat stacks, sheaves of grain, yards of wooden paling, with an occasional sheep, were swept along by the current, and finally shattered as they plunged over the cascade of the Caul.

I cannot bring these brief sketches of the former manners and customs of Dumfries to a close without some reference to the aquatic performances of the boys who used in summer to throng the banks of the mill-dam on the Galloway side of the river. Hundreds of youths must have acquired the useful art of swimming in that rapid current, and some of the young adepts always stood ready to dive, on the shortest notice, for any small coin which might be thrown for their benefit into the water.

Another memory of later date occurs to me in the existence of a notable character in the town, usually known as Jock Brodie. He was a tall, dark, handsome-looking man, and had an evil reputation as a poacher. However that may be, he was at least a dealer in game, and much patronised by those who were in

need of it. In his later days he became, I believe, an altered man, and a highly respectable character, a living example of the truth of the adage—"It is never too late to mend."

I may allude, in conclusion, to a custom which prevailed in my early days in the mode of washing clothes. The young women of the middle class used to come down to the Greensands provided with wooden tubs. These were placed near the river, and half filled with water. The garments to be washed were then put into them, and the owners taking off their shoes and stockings, and tucking up their petticoats, stepped into the tubs, and trampled the clothes, turning round and round during the process. When the water became dirty, I suppose it was emptied out and a fresh supply added, and when the operation was completed, the clothes were spread out upon the grass to dry. This primitive fashion probably would not comport with the more refined notions of the present day, and besides the same end can be attained by other and more effective means.

There are three worthy persons connected with Dumfries, of whom I remember to have heard a good deal in my youth. Though not public characters, yet as they are long since "gathered to their fathers," and all that can be said of them is good, I may be permitted without offence to mention their names. They are—Robert Gillies, Miss Gordon of Earlston, usually known as "Miss Willy Gordon," and Miss Jane Goldie of Summerhill. They were all eminent for their Christian character and their practical good works. Gillies was, I believe, a tradesman in the burgh, and was remarkable for his zeal in originating and conducting Sunday Schools for the benefit of the young. Miss Goldie was, I believe, the founder of the Greensands School, to which so many children have been indebted for their religious and secular education.

14th December, 1894.

Mr Robert Murray in the Chair.

New Members.—Mr John Millar Crabbie, Duncow; Captain Robert Cutlar Fergusson, Craigdarroch; and Miss M'Kie, Moat House.

Donations.—Report of Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1892 (2 vols.); Report of U.S. Geological Survey, 1892 (4 vols.);

Proceedings of Nova Scotian Institute of Science, 1893; Transactions of Edinburgh Geological Society; Transactions of Botanical Society of Edinburgh.

Communications.

1. *Notes on the Antiquities of Dunscore.*

By the Rev. Richard Simpson, B.D.

The position of Dunscore among the hills places it far out of the stream of the busy world's activities as it flows to-day, but in former times those secluded glens and bleak uplands were the scene of many an incident worthy of remembrance, and had an influence all their own on the course of events. Few country parishes are richer in associations with the history and the literature of our native land. Dunscore counts as its own names that are celebrated all the world over, and reverenced and loved wherever men read and think, and wherever there glows the flame of poetry or of patriotism. The strongest and sternest blood of the Covenant, as well as the most active and hated of the persecutors, came from within its bounds. It was in Dunscore that Burns made "a poet's, not a farmer's choice," when he preferred Ellisland to Foregirth, and settled down to write the very best of his poetry and spend the happiest and most prosperous days of his troubled life. In Dunscore Scott found one of his feudal castles, and laid there the scene of the grim episode in "Redgauntlet." And it was on the western border of the parish, with the far outlook from Craigenputtock over the wilds of Galloway always before him, that Carlyle hammered out the pure gold of "Sartor Resartus" on the anvil of his own soul.

There is a singular vitality about words; and a good deal may be learned about the history of any locality from its place names. Through this medium Dunscore is connected with the earliest period of our national life of which we have any knowledge. Leaving out of consideration a group of modern invention and barbarous taste, the majority of our names are of Celtic origin. One or two are English, and there are traces of Norse or Danish. The Celtic names seem to be survivals of the time when our uplands were included within the ancient kingdom of Galloway, and the others are marks left by the successive waves of invasion that beat against its frontiers. As is the case with most ancient

names—whatever their language—they are descriptive of natural features. *Dunscore* itself is *dùn sgòr—the hill with the steep rock. Lag* means *a hollow*, and *Laggan, a little hollow. Kilroy* is *the red corner*, the name being the only relic of some forgotten tragedy. *Stroquhan* is a *stony place*—a name which would quite correctly describe the whole parish. *Craigenputtock*, as we have all learned from Carlyle, is *the rock of the wild hawk. Cat's Craig*, a name which occurs twice in the parish, does not require to be explained. *Drum* means *a ridge*, and here the name is the very picture of the place. *Swyrie* is *the neck of the hill*, where the summit dips and rises again, forming a pass. These are all of very early date. Belonging to a later time we have those well-known marks of ecclesiastical possession—*Merkland, Shillingland*, and *Poundland*, telling of the days when the monastery of Holywood owned all the land in the valley of the Cairn, and even as far as Glaisters, beyond the boundaries of the parish to the west. *Friars' Carse* recalls to mind the Monks of Melrose, who possessed the rich holms of the Nith for centuries; and *Monkland*, a name recently revived, belongs originally to their day. *Ellisland*, it is ingeniously suggested by a well-known archæologist, who is a member of this Society, is from Isle. It is *the Laird of Isle his land, Isle's Land, Ailisland, Ellisland.*

But a great number of our Dunscore names are quite unlike these comely and dignified survivors of the past. They are as hideous as the modern appellatives of the Far West. In the Sibbald Manuscript in the Advocates' Library (W. 5. 17.) we are told that "the Cunninghames, Earles of Glencarne, being superiour to the whole parish, excepting a Barony or two, did divide his property amongst his jackmen for the greater part of it, into several tenements, bearing the name of the first occupants, which denominations; though the lands be now possessed by those of other names, yet they do still retain as at first, as Blackstown, Inglistown, Crawfordtown, Stewartown, Gilmorestown, Gordonstown, Garriokstown, and some others more." The evil example of Glencairn was followed in Dunscore and other places. We know not what graphic names of an earlier age these hideous compounds supplanted, but we could have forgiven the Earl of Glencairn in question if he had only had the grace to leave well alone. It is little comfort to know

that his offence is written down in history, and that he himself is classed among the Goths and the Vandals.

Passing from names to things, our interest does not grow less. Belonging to a remote antiquity, the Lake Dwelling at Friars' Carse carries us away back to a period before any history of our country began to be written. The island in the middle of the loch that lies close to the highway was long used as a place of refuge in times of danger. In the days of the Border raids the peaceful fraternity of monks, from whom Friars' Carse derives its name, were often hard put to it to bestow their goods and gear where the wild reivers of Cumberland could not lay hands upon them. That little island was their safe hiding-place. At the first signal of danger, they conveyed their effects thither by a path through the water known only to themselves. No enemy suspected that the little wooded island concealed what they so greatly desired to carry away, and if any attempted to ford the narrow strip of water, the black yielding mud soon warned them of their danger, and caused them to desist.

It was not generally known that this island refuge had been constructed by human hands; but in 1878, when the late Mr Thomas Nelson partially drained the loch, the structure was laid bare. It was then seen to be one of the artificial lake-dwellings built two thousand years ago or more as a place of safety by the original inhabitants of the land. A mass of stout oak beams rests upon the bottom of the loch, which cannot be less than 15 or 16 feet in depth, and forms an island of oval shape measuring 80 by 70 feet. On this island huts were erected, traces of the partitions of which remain. Near the middle there was a circle of small stones forming a rude pavement, evidently designed to protect the foundation of oaken logs from fire. A canoe, hollowed out of a single tree-trunk, and the paddle by which it was rowed, were found imbedded in the mud, showing how the people who lived on the island went to and fro. A stone axe and some fragments of pottery remained to show what sort of people they were, and give some indication of their habits and ways of life. Further relics might have been found, but for a singular and untoward accident which befell the rubbish removed from the surface of the oak pavement. As this was dug away, it was wheeled to what seemed a place of safety, where it was to remain until it could be carefully turned over and examined. One morning, however, the precious heap was

found to have disappeared. The apparently solid ground was only a matted crust of mud and roots resting on the surface of the water. The great and constantly increasing weight caused the crust to give way, and the whole mass sank out of sight and out of reach in the soft black mud at the bottom of the loch. The loss is distinctly to be regretted, but in spite of it, the Friars' Carse lake dwelling remains one of the most interesting spots in the parish.

Many traces still exist of the occupation of the Lowlands of Scotland by the Roman legions seventeen or eighteen hundred years ago. Besides some indication of the roads they constructed, the remains of two of their forts are to be found in Dunscore. One of them occupies a picturesque site on the farm of Sundaywell.

Distinctly visible from Sundaywell, yet six miles distant as the crow flies, is the Camp of Springfield Hill. It is smaller, but even more difficult to approach than the former, and its three lines of fortification are much more clearly marked. The view from Springfield Hill is of wide extent, commanding the whole of Nithsdale from the Lowthers to the Solway, and taking in a long stretch of the Cumberland shore. Over the shoulder of the Tinwald Hills is seen the square top of Burnswark, an important military centre in the days of the Roman occupation. Signals could be made between these two places, or passed on by Springfield Hill from Sundaywell to Burnswark. By means of stations such as these, widely apart, yet within signalling distance, the conquered country was effectually kept in order, until troubles in other quarters compelled the generals of the Empire first to withdraw their forces within the line of Hadrian's wall between the Solway and the Tyne, and then, in the reign of Honorius, finally to abandon Britain.

The people of former days knew how to build so that time and decay should have little power to mar their work. More than two hundred years have passed since the old tower of Lag ceased to be a place of human habitation, yet its walls still stand grimly defiant of wind and weather as once they were of English bow and spear. It was built at a very early date. The mound which was chosen as its site was then in the middle of a lake, and thus the solid square keep was a safe retreat in the unsettled days of the Border raids. It was several storeys high, each with a vaulted roof, and there were round turrets at the

four corners. The cottages of the chief's retainers clustered about it, and these were enclosed within a strong outer wall, whose great gate, with lofty circular arch only recently destroyed, faced the north. In 1532 the tower suffered from fire, but it was restored, and continued to be inhabited for another century and a half.

Lag was the ancestral home of the Griersons, a family that occupied a distinguished position in Nithsdale for many generations. They come into authentic history in the fifteenth century. At Sauchieburn, where in 1488 the unfortunate King James III. was defeated, and later in the day treacherously murdered, Roger Grierson, who fought on the rebel side, was wounded. Another Roger after him fell at Flodden, 1513. About the same time John Grierson was principal of King's College, Aberdeen, and head of the Dominican Order of Friars in this country. In 1593 fifty-four horsemen under Grierson of Lag took the side of Lord Maxwell, as Warden of the Western Marches, in the encounter with the Johnstones of Annandale at Dryfe Sands.

But the most noted of the race was Sir Robert Grierson, who was born at Dalskairth, Troqueer, in 1655, succeeded to the estates of Lag and Rockhall in 1669, was made a Baronet in 1685, and died in Dumfries in 1733. In the persecutions he was more feared than even Claverhouse himself. He was responsible for the drowning of Margaret M'Lachlan and Margaret Wilson in the rising tide where the Bladenoch falls into Wigtown Bay, and for the execution of Edward Gordon and Alexander M'Cubbin at Haugh Hill, near the church of Irongray. The memory of Lag, the persecutor, continued to be held in such odium that when his great-grand-daughter wished to place a monument over his grave in the old churchyard of Dunscore, she was compelled to abandon her intention by the strong expression of popular feeling against it.

This Laird of Lag was the prototype of Sir Robert Redgauntlet in the weird episode, "Wandering Willie's Tale," in Sir Walter Scott's novel. Redgauntlet Castle stands for the old Tower of Lag itself. The Wood of Pitmurkie, "that is a' fou o' black firs," where Steenie the Piper met the mysterious horseman, was in the Glen of Laggan. It is now called Crolo Wood, and its reputation as an uncanny place still survives in the fear that the rustics have to pass that way after dark. And "the

auld kirkyard of Redgauntlet," where Steenie found himself after his strange adventures, "lying just at the door of the family aisle, and the scutcheon of the auld knight, Sir Robert, hanging over his head," is the old churchyard of Dunscore, which holds Lag's unhonoured grave.

The tower of Sundaywell, now part of a modern farm house, is the only one remaining of several conspicuous strongholds in Glenesslin. It is a survival of the days when every landowner dwelt in his own fortress. Then the great forest which gave its name to the parish of Holywood extended up the valley of the Cairn and into Glenesslin. Like the Forest of Sherwood, it gave shelter to many an outlaw. In the days of some early Stewart king, a notorious robber named Culton infested the neighbourhood. A reward was offered for his head, and three brothers named Kirkhoe or Kirk, on their way to the haymaking early one summer morning, surprised him asleep under a tree and despatched him with their pitchforks. The spot where Culton was slain is still called Culton's Neuk. It is near Garrieston, in the parish of Glencairn, and close to the road leading from Glenesslin along the western bank of the Cairn to Moniaive. As a reward, the reigning monarch granted to the three brothers the lands of Chapel, Bogrie, and Sundaywell. If the brother who received the estate of Chapel ever built a residence, it may be that it is marked by the heap of ruins on the farm of Kenmorehead, evidently at one time a place of importance; but its history and even its name are forgotten. A discovery of lead piping, made in 1860 when the adjoining field was being drained, shows that pains were taken to supply it with water, and confirms the traditional belief that some place of strength once existed there.

For centuries the Kirkhoes or Kirks of Bogrie and Sundaywell bore an honourable name in the district. They were connected by marriage with the Griers or Griersons of Dalgoner —a younger branch of the Griersons of Lag—with the Gordons of Glaisters, the Welshes of Colliston, of Scarre, and of Cornilie, the Fergussons of Isle, and the Riddles of Glenriddel. In the times of persecution they were favourable to the side of the Covenant, and the fugitives from the dragoons of Claverhouse and Lag often found shelter in their strongholds.

The existing tower of Sundaywell was built by James Kirko, who in 1647 succeeded his father, John Kirko, "in the seven merk land of Sundaywall," as the old retour has it. He is the

most famous of the family, and would seem to have been an elder in the parish kirk of Dunscore. Referring to the Restoration of Monarchy in 1660 in the person of King Charles II., Wodrow says of him—"This public-spirited gentleman, and Andrew Hay of Craignethan, had the honour to be the two ruling elders who were present with Maister James Guthrie and other ministers when they met in the house of Robert Simpson in Edinburgh at the Restoration of Charles the Second to agree in an Address to the King, and was thereby imprisoned for some months." (Wod. I. 7. 21.) Soon after, Mr Archibald, minister of Dunscore, was by his Presbytery deputed to go to Edinburgh to present a petition to the Earl of Glencairn, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, for the release of the Rev. John Welsh of Irongray, James Kirko of Sundaywall, and others then in prison—a rather riskish commission in the nature of things as they then stood. A copy of the petition stands in the Presbytery records of Dumfries under the date 9th September, 1660, and on the 20th of November in the same year the Clerk of the Presbytery of Dumfries reports that a letter had been received, wherein Mr Archibald of Dunscore declares that he had duly delivered the said petition, and also that up to the date of this, his letter, there had been no reply received. This boldness was not forgotten, for Mr Archibald was one of the 400 ministers declared to have no right to their benefices because they had been elected by the Kirk Sessions—a practice followed between 1649 and 1660—and not by the lawful patrons, and ejected in 1662 because they would not seek to receive a presentation from the patron, and institution from the bishop of the diocese. He continued to hold field meetings although ejected from his charge, and it is recorded of his widow, Elizabeth Key, that when she died in 1689 she left one hundred marks for the benefit of the poor of Dunscore.

Imprisonment did not make any change in James Kirko's sympathy for the Covenanters. Sundaywell became a favourite resort of the ejected ministers. The famous John Blackadder, of Troqueer, was in the habit of visiting and preaching there. He was Kirko's guest at the time of the celebrated communion held on Skeoch Hill in Irongray in 1678, and preached the preparation sermon on the Saturday preceding at the "Preaching Walls," of which the ruins still remain on the farm of Newhouse in Holywood. The officiating ministers were—John

Welsh of Irongray, John Blackadder of Troqueer, John Dickson of Rutherglen, and Samuel Arnot of Tongland, and it cannot be doubted that the laird of Sundaywell acted as an elder.

The house of Sundaywell, as he built it, is still standing—a square tower with very thick walls. The arched doorway has been built up. Over the present doorway is a square stone with the initials I. K. and S. W. carved at the top, and at the foot the date 1651. Between is a shield, bearing three lozenges over a St. Andrew's Cross. The initials are those of James Kirko, who built the tower, and of his wife, a relative of John Welsh, minister of Irongray.

The tower of Bogrie was taken down in 1860, and its stones used to make repairs on the farm steading. It was larger and stronger than that at Sundaywell. Three stones in the walls of the existing dwelling-house bear interesting testimony to its history. Over an arched doorway, similar to that at Sundaywell, is a stone with elaborate armorial bearings carved on it. It shows a shield with three boars' heads quartered with a thistle and a dagger, and over it the motto, "Fear God." Above this is another stone, partially defaced, but showing the date 1770. At the other side of the house is a third stone with the initials I. K. and I. M.—those of John Kirko and his wife—and the date 1660. The ancient yew-trees near the house of Bogrie are a striking feature on the landscape. Within a few hundred yards are two ring-shaped circular mounds, described as ancient British forts, as well as the site of the important Roman camp to which I have alluded.

In the "Scots Worthies" it is erroneously stated that Colliston, the original home of the Welsh family, is in Irongray. It is in Glenesslin of Dunscore, not far from Bogrie and Sundaywell. The Welshes held a more prominent position than even the Kirkhoes in the history of the Reformed Church. Dumfries and Tynron, as well as Dunscore, were ministered to by clergymen of that name. It was a Welsh of Colliston who became son-in-law to John Knox—the same who is known as minister of Ayr—and it was his grandson who became minister of Irongray, and, when ejected from his charge, organised and presided at the great Conventicle held in his own parish in 1678. Of the old house of Colliston no trace now remains. The Welshes of Craigenputtock, of whom the last representative was Jane

Welsh Carlyle, belong to the more recent times of the family history.

A very considerable portion of the parish consisted originally of church lands, possessed by the monastery of Sacrinemoris or Holywood, and the monastery of Melrose, as represented by the establishment at Friars' Carse. As far back as the year 1257 a dispute arose between the rival Abbots concerning their respective rights to the church of Dunscore. The controversy was referred to the Bishop of Glasgow, who decided in favour of Holywood, while the Abbots of Melrose were confirmed in the right to the tithes of their own Monklands in Stranith.

In those days the church of Dunscore was situated at the eastern end of the parish, where the old churchyard is, and there was a chapel in Glenesslin to meet the wants of the people of the outlying hill country to the west. This arrangement seems to have been continued after the Reformation—perhaps until 1649, when the newer church of Dunscore was built at the village of Cottack, near the middle of the parish, now better known as Dunscore Village. No trace of the old church remains, and the old manse, whose site was near the present gate-lodge of Isle, has also entirely disappeared.

The existing manse was erected in 1814. In its eastern gable is preserved a stone from its predecessor on the same site, bearing the inscription—"In usum Pastorum Dunscoriensium ædificari Curavit Jo: Dickie Past: 1740."

The church of 1649 was replaced in 1823 by the present more commodious structure. The massive square tower is a conspicuous feature of the landscape, and may be seen from a great distance, so that, like the Kirk of Shotts, it is often alluded to as "the visible church." It attracted from afar the eye of Carlyle on the memorable day of Emerson's visit, when the two philosophers climbed together the heathery steeps of Craigenputtock Hill, talking of the immortality of the soul, and Carlyle made the remark, "Christ died on the Tree: that built Dunscore Kirk yonder: that brought you and me together. Time has only a relative existence." The church itself looks down on two picturesque valleys—Glenesslin due west, and Glencairn to the north, the latter showing the circle of dark yews that mark the site of Glenriddel Castle, and the lovely green braes of Maxwelton, *the home of Annie Laurie.* Built into a corner of the tower is a stone hollowed out to form a cup or bowl, which is

said to have been used as a baptismal font. In another corner is an interesting relic of the old church, a stone bearing the words, "How amiable are Thy Tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts!" and the date 1649.

Of the chapel and churchyard at Glenesslin no authentic traces remain except in the name of the farm called "Chapel."

It was at Ellisland—himself being umpire—that Burns wrote the best of his poetry, and there he spent the happiest period of his short life. Those three years and a half were full of promise. The wild oats seemed to have been sown, and unsettled youth developed into full, strong manhood. There was fierce physical energy displayed in the building of the new house and the reclaiming of the untilled fields; and the teeming brain was no less active. Memories of the past in Ayrshire were often with him, causing his heart to sing of the "Banks of Doon" and "Auld Langsyne." Affectionate sadness over friendships interrupted by death inspired the "Lament for the Earl of Glencairn" and the ode "To Mary in Heaven." Then the keen, irrepressible Scottish humour broke out again in "Tam o' Shanter," "The Jolly Beggars," "The Whistle," and many a song in praise of that good fellowship, which brought about his ruin in the end.

Visitors to Ellisland are told that the house is that which the poet built, but this is doubtful. Mr Taylor, into whose hands the property passed in 1805, dismantled and remodelled the whole steading. The site is a beautiful one on the western bank of the Nith. From the river the ground slopes gently back to a lofty ridge more than a mile away, on one of the highest points of which Springfield Hill Camp is perched. A mile to the south of Ellisland stands the ivied tower of Isle, side by side with the modern mansion house. It was to one of the cottages at the Isle that Burns brought Jean Armour from her home in Mauchline, and there they lived till the house at Ellisland was ready, and they went forth with much ceremony to take possession. Scarcely as far up the stream is Friars' Carse, so named from its former possessors, the Monks of Melrose. In Burns's time it was the residence of Riddel of Glenriddel, who took a great interest in the farmer poet. Here Burns met Captain Grose, at whose suggestion he wrote "Tam o' Shanter," to be printed in the famous antiquary's book opposite an engraving of Alloway Kirk. Here, too, was the Hermitage, in a secluded corner of the woods, with memorials of

its mediæval origin all around—an ideal place for studious meditation.

When the late Mr Thomas Nelson came into possession of Friars' Carse, he found the Hermitage in ruins. The window was gone, the roof had fallen in, and the walls were crumbling to pieces. With great good taste he restored the little building, and placed in it a new window similar to the old, on which the same verses are inscribed in *facsimile* of the poet's singularly clear and beautiful handwriting.

The mansion-house of Friars' Carse occupies a lovely situation on the banks of the Nith. The house as Burns knew it was built in 1772, and still stands; but the additions made by the late Mr Nelson have improved and beautified it almost beyond recognition. Its dining-room was the scene of the ignoble contest celebrated in "The Whistle." Its hall contains a singularly beautiful piece of sculpture—the original cast for the monument by Watson erected in the Savoy Chapel, in memory of Dr Archibald Cameron, who acted as a surgeon at Culloden on the side of "Bonnie Prince Charlie." After seven years of exile Cameron returned to Scotland. He was arrested, taken to London, tried, and, although a non-combatant, executed for the part he had taken on the fatal day of Drummossie. The work, which is quite worthy of the subject, was carved on Caen stone, and placed in the Savoy Chapel in 1847, but unfortunately fell amongst the ruins of the fire that destroyed the Chapel in 1864. Around the mansion and within it are many memorials of its history, and not far away is the circle of stones set up by Riddel, Burns's patron, in imitation of a Druidical Temple.

To mark the new departure in his life, the farmer of Ellisland began to go regularly to church. This exemplary conduct continued until differences of opinion with the Rev. Joseph Kirkpatrick led—first to hard words between them, both in speech and writing, and finally to their utter estrangement. Mr Kirkpatrick was minister of Dunscore from 1777 till 1806, when he was translated to Wamphray. From December 11th, 1780, down to 1806, there is a complete blank in the Session Records, which fact is apt to prejudice one against the minister and in favour of the poet. We regret that at such an interesting period in the history of the parish no account of it should have been kept by those whose duty it was to do so.

One more memorial of Burns exists in the tombstone of James

Whyte, set on its side close beside the church tower. This was the retired Jamaica planter, whose advice brought about a change in the poet's plans regarding his passage to the West Indies, else he would have sailed before the success of his book decided him against seeking his fortune beyond the sea. Mr Whyte was residing at Glaisnock House, near Cumnock, when he met the prospective overseer of slaves. But not long after, he purchased the estate of Over Stroquhan, in Dunscore, where he died in 1822 at the age of 90.

Twelve miles distant from Ellisland, but still within the parish of Dunscore, is Craigenputtock, the home of Carlyle from 1828 till 1833. Froude calls it "the dreariest spot in all the British dominions," but his description is by no means accurate. Dreary enough it may be in winter, when the snow-drifts lie piled across the mountain roads, and communication with the outer world is barred. In these mild latitudes, however, that is at the worst only for a day or two, while in summer it is a delightful inland home, with wide billowy stretches of pasture all around, extending to the dark Rhinns of Kells and the Solway Hills, the "inestimable silence" broken only by the bleating of sheep. The house is much as the philosopher left it. There is the little room he used as a study, containing a book-case with many of his own writings, and many volumes that belonged to him. Very noticeable is a set of Shakespeare with the inscription—"To my kind nephew, James Carlyle, for the winter nights at Craigenputtock, with best wishes. T. C. Chelsea, 12th October, 1890," and Carlyle's "Life of Schiller," on the title-page of which the frail old man had inscribed his nephew's name in pencil, and then attempted to trace it over in ink. The walls are rich in portraits of the Sage and his heroes, of Frederick, and Cromwell, and Knox; and far out on the hill a cairn marks the spot to which Carlyle led Emerson on the day of his memorable visit.

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2. *Colvend as it was fifty years ago and as it is now.*
By the Rev. JAMES FRASER, D.D.

In Colvend I include Southwick, which is still an integral part of the parish civilly. Ecclesiastically it was disjoined from Colvend in the course of the present year (1894), and erected into a church and parish, *quoad sacra.*

From Southwick, beginning at the estuary of Southwick Burn, and tracing the coast round by Douglas Hall, Port o' Warren, Barcloy Head, and onward to the Scaur and estuary of the Urr, the parish for a third of its circumference is bounded by the sea. On this side of the parish, therefore, the sea-side, the people had no neighbours with whom they could associate with and form connections, and with England they had little or no communication.

At a time indeed anterior to that to which my paper relates, they had very close communication with the Isle of Man, but it was of an illicit and contraband character. At that time there was a regular smuggling traffic carried on between the two places, and there were men living in the parish when I came to it fifty years ago who remembered it and possibly profited by it. Captain John Crosbie, Laird of Kipp, himself a seafaring man, had a cellar under the floor of his dining-room, approached by a secret trap-door, which the carpet covered, and which was doubtless designed for the safe custody of such commodities. I myself have seen him go down through the trap-door in question, and bring up a bottle, whether of wine or spirits I cannot remember. There is a similar cellar under the dining-room floor of the manse, approached also by a trap-door, and concealed in the same manner. On the rocky coast leading from Port o' Warren to Douglas-Hall there are several caves and deep fissures in the rocks, admirably fitted for the concealment of contraband goods, until such time as removal could be safely effected. And on the other side of Port o' Warren, in the rocks leading to what is called the Cormorants' Dookers' Bing, there are other caves and fissures, larger and deeper, which can only be approached at low water, and then only by wading. One on the Torr or Douglas-Hall shore is known as the *Brandy Cave*, a name significant of the use to which it was put. On the Island of Heston, which lies at the mouth of the Urr, less than a mile from the Colvend shore, there are also caves and fissures, larger, I am told, than those on the Torr or Boreland Heughs. This is the island which the author of the spirit-stirring fiction of "The Raiders" calls "Rathan."

Colvend, as everyone knows who has lived in the parish, and as the least observant sees at a glance, is intersected by rocky ridges and strewed with boulders, so much so that Mr M'Diarmid of the *Courier* characterised the parish as the "Riddlings of

Creation." The rocky ridges, with morasses intervening, separate the different straths or valleys, of which the parish is made up, the one from the other, and render intercourse between them impracticable except for pedestrians. Anyone wishing to ride or drive from one strath to the next, must needs go down to the sea level and turn the flank of the intervening barrier. But as bearing upon the insulated or semi-insulated condition of the parish as it existed fifty years ago, what I would especially draw attention to is that Colvend on its landward side is surrounded by hills, particularly the Criffel range, which for miles form a barrier separating the parish from other parishes adjacent, and rendering intercourse between them impracticable. This, concurring with the previous cause referred to—their sea surroundings—made the people live a sort of isolated life, having little communication with the outside world. At that time the saying was common—"Out of the world and into Colvend." The effect was to beget selfishness and exclusiveness—to make the native population intolerant and jealous of strangers. I heard a farmer, an incomer, whose descendants are now recognised as natives, say that when he came into the parish a stranger, some sixty years ago, he was the object of general suspicion and dislike, but that, when in the course of time another farmer, a stranger also, came to occupy a farm near him, "he was glad, for Mr So-and-So would take the people off his back."

Another and a less objectionable peculiarity common to communities circumstanced like the people of Colvend, who live isolated and removed to a distance from the bustle and turmoil of the outside world, is that they retain long a simplicity of character and a naivety of expression, which others, mingling much in the civilised world, have lost, or do not care to retain. To be so regarded by outsiders is naturally resented as matter of offence. An old lady whom I knew well, and who was very properly proud of her native parish of Colvend and its people, was in no little degree displeased with a neighbouring clergyman because, in speaking to her of the people of Colvend, he called them a primitive people. This, of course, he did to teaze her, for he knew her susceptibility.

Colvend differs from the majority of parishes, which, as a rule, are divided, and belong to a few individuals. In many cases a single individual owns the whole. In Colvend it is different. At the beginning of the time with which my paper is

concerned, the parish was divided into eighteen or nineteen properties, owned by as many proprietors or heritors. One of these properties, the Barony of Barcloy, was held in trust by the Kirk Session of Caerlaverock, for the poor of Caerlaverock, and for the higher education of the children of Caerlaverock. This gave rise to the witticism, "The poor of Caerlaverock are the lairds of Couen." Of the eighteen or nineteen properties into which the parish is divided, two of the larger—Fairgirth and Auchenskeoch have changed hands, and to the former Meikle-cloak has been added, to the latter Glensone and Ryes. Glen-stocken, the property of Mr Carrick Moore, near relative of Sir John Moore, the hero of Corunna, was purchased by the late Mark Sprot Stewart of Southwick, and is now owned by his son, Sir Mark J. Stewart, Bart. Kipp was acquired by purchase from the Crosbie family, by Mr Chalmers, the present proprietor. Auchenhill and Orchardknowes are owned by Lord Young, and Clonyard by Mr M'Call. In other respects properties in the parish, considered relatively to the number of owners, and to the size of the properties, continue unchanged. The number of landed proprietors is still nearly the same.

The estates and properties vary much in size and value. In one or two instances the rental touches or did touch, a few years ago, £2000. In others it ranges between £200 and £800, and in some instances it comes down to £50, £30, and even less. To me this gradation in ownership has always seemed pleasing, and in many respects desirable, and in this respect I have often considered Colvend unique. I know no other parish similarly circumstanced as to ownership. Inseparably, indeed, connected with the ownership of the land are the tenantry or tenant farmers of a parish The tenant farmers of Colvend, like the proprietors, rent and occupy farms of varying size, and of rents varying according to the size and value of their holdings. Some of the farms in the parish are wholly agricultural, but many have attached to them portions of moorland or hill pasture, and in one or two instances the hill and moorland pasture constitutes the more valuable portion of the farm. The rents vary from £100 to £200 and £300, and in one instance runs up to £600, but this includes two farms, one of which is known as what is called a led farm. The others graduate down to £50 or £40. These latter are tenanted in many cases by those who in their early life were farm servants, or day labourers, who have been

industrious and saving, and were able to begin farming in a small way, and on their own account. From these latter not unfrequently spring the men who rent the largest and best cultivated farms in the district. This also is a feature characteristic of Colvend, and which I should gladly see extended to other parishes and districts.

There is a marked difference between the gradation in farms which obtains in Colvend and other parts of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright and that which exists in the Lothians, in the lowland parts of Perthshire and Forfarshire, where the proprietors are few in number and the farms large.

Fifty years ago the farms were tenanted by men whose fathers, and whose fathers' fathers had, with infinite labour and no little expense, reclaimed the land, stubbing out the briars and thorns with which the country was at that time covered, trenching the ground which had never known touch of either spade or plough, raising the stones and blasting the boulders with which the country was strewed, building the dykes or stone fences by which the fields were enclosed, by men who continued and improved upon the work which their fathers had begun. Fifty years ago, and for ten or twenty years later, the work of reclamation in the parish was still in progress, but with lessened and ever lessening enterprise. I myself was one of the last, and, considering the size of my small holding, the Glebe and the Manse Farm, not one of the least improvers of the land. The Manse Farm I rented. I took out of the ground which I reclaimed I daresay 10,000 cart loads of stones, and of boulders I blasted several hundreds. There was a common saying in the parish at that time—"The land should build the dykes," the meaning of which was that the improvements should repay the outlay; and, so long as they did so, reclamation of the land continued; but when, by a rise in rents and the increased cost of labour, the conditions were reversed, the reclamation of land ceased. Such is the state of matters at the present time. If any further reclamation of land takes place it must be by the owners, or, if by tenants, it must be by tenants under exceptionally favourable conditions.

Fifty years ago farms were tenanted by men whose forefathers had been tenants of the same farm for several generations. One family I knew who could trace back their connection with the farm on which they were born for 200 years. They are now

all dead, but the descendants of one of the sons are farmers in Ireland. A farmer still living in the parish (1894), 85 years of age, but some eighteen years retired from farming, tells me that he, his father, and grandfather, and, he believes, his great-grandfather, were tenants of the same farm, the farm of Burnside, from time immemorial, or for a period of 300 years. The farm, if it can be so called, was doubtless at first but a bit of barren and unprofitable moorland; and my informant, who did more than all his forefathers put together to reclaim the land, and to bring it into its present well cultivated, well fenced, and well housed condition, tells me that about 100 years ago the rent was £20, but, to keep himself correct, he added that to the original little croft, for it was nothing better, there were added two small portions of swampy and but partially reclaimed land. Eighteen years ago, when he retired from the farm, he was offered a renewal of his lease by his landlord—a different landlord from that of his middle age, at a rise of £60, or £10 more than he was paying.

Fifty years ago no landlord wished to remove from his estate a family that wished to remain, or, at the expiry of a lease, so raised the rent on an old tenant that he could not retake it. It was a thing unknown at that time to have a farm advertised to be let. Now it is a thing almost as unknown to find a farm let without being advertised. Between the years 1850 and 1860 the change began. A steady and ever increasing rise of rents set in. Then, whenever a lease was out, and the farm advertised to be let, if the outgoing tenant was not to be an offerer, applicants were numerous—more numerous of course where the farms were small; and rents were offered, rents were given, which to the older tenants seemed ruinous. For a time—for a period of fifteen or twenty years, rents at a high figure were maintained, and farmers seemed to thrive and prosper. At that time properties were sold and properties were bought at prices which cannot now be realised, and farms everywhere, in all parts of the country, changed hands. Colvend did not escape the revolution. Colvend, indeed, which seemed to lie outside the influence of change and civilization, felt it more. Of the old tenants, whose fathers made the farms, and whose forefathers for generations occupied the farms, hardly a descendant now remains in the parish, and only two occupy farms, but not the farms which their fathers tilled.

Fifty years ago dykes in Colvend (the fences are all dry-stone dykes)—could be built, the very best, 4½ feet high for 1s 6d a rood. A rood is 18 feet. I have built some hundreds of them. Now the same height of dyke could not be built under 4s 6d. The dykes in Colvend are not built of such trifling stones as are to be seen in some neighbouring parishes, but of great granite stones or blasted boulders, some of them half a ton weight Such a dyke may be seen on the farm of Nether Clifton on the road up to the Southwick Churchyard. I remember passing the field which the dyke in question now encloses, but which was then but partially reclaimed, covered with great boulders everywhere sticking up their heads. An old farmer, Mr Gibson of Auchenlosh, himself a great improver in his day, directing my attention to the state of the field, said, with an expression of contempt either for the farmer or his landlord, or for both—"Did you ever see such a debauched field?" The boulders have long since been unearthed and blasted, and now form one of the strongest dykes in the parish.

The next point which, in speaking of the changes which have taken place in Colvend, calls for special remark, is the number of cottages which, at the beginning of the period were in the parish standing occupied, compared with what there are now. At the time when I came to the parish, the parish was dotted over with cottages. Every little oasis among the hills, every sheltered neuk by rock, or stream, or shore, had its cottage, with garden adjoining. Many of the cottages were solitary, removed to a distance from any neighbour. Some were pitched around or near the dwelling-house of the farm on which they were built, and some few were grouped together in twos and threes. Many of the occupants held their cottages from the farmer on whose land they stood, and to him they paid rent or rendered service. A few cottages were of the nature of crofters' dwellings, and had attached to them an acre or two of arable or pasture land. These they held direct from the landlord. But the cottages, whether of the nature of crofts or simple dwellings with gardens attached, and in some cases a cow's grass added, have all, with scarce an exception, disappeared. I can myself recall fifty at least which have so disappeared, in most of which I have baptized, married, and conducted such religious services as the occasion required, and of these hardly a vestige remains to mark the spot where they stood. In some few places where the

stones of the building have not been cleared away, or the enclosures of the garden have been left standing, the sites may be recognised; otherwise the place is a blank.

The most remarkable of these dilapidated enclosures still left standing, though greatly broken down and all but levelled with the ground, is a group of broken-down dykes or garden enclosures seen not far from Southwick old church. It is easily noticeable from the parish road which passes the churchyard on the opposite side of the valley, and anyone noticing it at once says, there doubtless at one time stood a village under the protecting shadow of the church. The village existed at a period anterior to the time at which my paper begins, but not so long anterior as a person looking at the relics may think. Mr Craik, tenant of Nether Clifton, and whose father tenanted it before him—Mr Craik who lived to 90 years of age, and died only a few years ago—told me that he remembered one of the houses still standing and occupied.

The cottages of that period were of a rude and simple construction—built of drystone wall, without lime; they were thatched with turf and straw if it could be got; if not, with brackens, heather, or reeds from the numerous lochs. The turf consisted of thin flakes, or scraws as they were called, cut or flayed from the moorland surface by a flauchter spade, the spade used in stripping off the top of the moss in peat casting. Sir Walter Scott, who has rescued from oblivion so many of our Scotch words, mentions the flauchter spade in "The Antiquary." Many of the cottages were of a peculiar and highly primitive construction. A pair of young fir or ash trees of suitable lengths and thickness were placed, their butt ends resting on the ground, and their tops inclined the one to the other, but not so as to meet and form a triangle, inclined so as to be say four or six feet apart. At this distance they were bound together by a thick band or strap of wood. This erected formed the gable of the building, and was kept in its upright position by either stone or turf building around it, or by a combination of stone and turf. A second pair of young or sapling trees, treated in the same way, were placed at a distance six feet from the first, and built round in the same manner. A third and a fourth pair were similarly treated, the fourth pair forming the opposite gable. The spaces between these upright pairs were covered with thin branches of trees, popularly called rice, which formed the roof. These thin

branches properly laid were covered with scraws, overlapping each other like slates, and all covered with straw, heather, brackens, or reeds, effectually excluding the rain. There were half-a dozen such cottages in the parish when I came to it, and one still remains, the old farmhouse of Lower Port Ling. This the proprietor, Mr Oswald of Auchencruive and Cavens, guards from being improved off the farm. The name of this most peculiar kind of structure was in Colvend known as "The cod's head."

Closely connected with the disappearance of so many cottages is the great decrease in the population of the parish, which, according to the census returns, was in 1841, 1495; 1851, 1398; 1861, 1366; 1871, 1315; 1881, 1281; 1891, 1126. How is this decrease to be accounted for? The decrease is due to various causes, but chiefly, I think, to the altered conditions of farming. The farmer can no longer allow the cottar facilities for grazing a cow or rearing a pig. From Colvend many have gone to the neighbouring town of Dalbeattie, drawn thither by the advanced wages to be earned in the granite quarries and polishing mills, and some have gone to more distant towns, some to foreign lands.

I have said that in the last fifty years a great number of cottages, and what were practically crofter dwellings, have disappeared, and that only a few, a dozen at most, have been built to replace them. But, within the last twenty years, a great many houses of a superior class have sprung up in all parts of the parish, Rockcliffe, the Scaur, Barnhourie, Douglas Hall, Laggan, and Portling, and building is still proceeding. Since Mr Oswald, a few years ago, decided to grant feus on his estate in Colvend, building has taken a fresh start. Already villas have been built on the most beautiful spots and salient points of his property, from Douglas Hall bay to Portling and Port o' Warren, and others are in contemplation. Some of the houses built cost thousands, many of them cost hundreds. The larger and more expensive houses were built with the intention of being permanently occupied by the proprietors, but the greater number were built with the view of being let to the visitors who, in increasing numbers, come annually to spend part of the summer and autumn months among the hills and by the shores of the parish. For long Colvend was unknown, or known only to the few who took advantage of such scanty accommodation as could be found in the

cottages and smaller farm houses. Then the saying, "Out of the world and into Colvend," had a meaning. Now it would be an anachronism. There is no more popular resort in the South of Scotland; no place where one would feel himself less out of the world, or more outside civilization. Visitors come annually from all parts of the kingdom to spend their holiday in Colvend—from Edinburgh and Glasgow, from Oxford and Cambridge, from London and places beyond. And, returning, carry with them such pleasant memories as induce others, friends, and acquaintances to follow in their steps.

Fifty years ago there were no public conveyances in the parish. No railway had yet come near, not even to Dumfries. There were two daily coaches which run between Edinburgh and Dumfries, and two between Glasgow and Dumfries, and there were two which ran between Dumfries and Kirkcudbright, passing through Dalbeattie and Castle-Douglas. No one then could perform the journey from either Edinburgh or Glasgow to Colvend in one day. Then, all journeys from Colvend to any of the neighbouring towns, Castle-Douglas or Dumfries, had to be done on foot. In those days men, and even women, thought it a small matter to walk to Dumfries, transact their business, and return home, doing their thirty, and in some cases their forty, miles with little or no rest. Now the railway has reached to Dalbeattie, and between Dalbeattie and Colvend 'buses run close. All the summer months, from the end of May until the beginning of October there run three 'buses daily, and two run between Dalbeattie and Douglas Hall.

Many curious stories are told of the effect which the first sight of a railway train in motion produced on the spectator. A story was told me not long ago of the effect which the sight produced on one of my parishioners, a simple woman who had hardly ever been beyond the place of her birth. A kind lady friend in Dumfries had invited her to come and spend a few days at her house in town, and had given her instructions how to come by train from Dalbeattie. The time for her arrival came, but no traveller turned up. Three or four hours, however, after the expected time she did arrive, and on being asked how she had missed the train she said, "The train just geed by like." In her inexperience she doubtless expected that the train, like an ordinary conveyance, would stop and pick her up on the road.

Fifty years ago our postal facilities and privileges were in

their infancy; so far as Colvend was concerned they were non-existent. There was, indeed, a sub-office on the Southwick side at Caulkerbush. On the Colvend side, the more populous side of the parish, there was none. On neither side was there a runner to distribute letters. On the Southwick side, if any letters arrived, they were kept until called for, or they were sent by some casual hand who happened to be going to where the letter was addressed. In Colvend the case was still worse; our letters came no nearer than to Dalbeattie, five or six miles off, and, not only so, the Post Office in Dalbeattie was a small closet in or off the bar of the public-house, where the letters lay huddled together with other articles. No arrangement whatever existed for dispersing them to their destination. I have known letters detained for upwards of a week. One case in particular occurs to me. A young man, who was undergoing a sentence of penal servitude in Pentonville Penitentiary, for whom I was instrumental in obtaining remission of part of the sentence, had a passage purchased for him to Canada. The letter containing his ticket to Canada, paid for by his friends, was detained in the Dalbeattie Post Office for more than a week; and as a result the passage was forfeited. After representation to the Shipping Company of the circumstances they generously allowed the young man to avail himself of a vessel for the succeeding voyage.

Now (1894) there is not only the original sub-office at Caulkerbush on the Southwick side, there is one at Lochend, one at Rockcliffe, which is a money-order office, and one at Kippford, which is also a money-order office, all on the Colvend side of the parish; and to expedite the delivery of letters, newspapers, and parcels, there are two runners in Southwick and three in Colvend.

For ten or fifteen years the Post Office authorities turned a deaf ear to all our applications for a sub-office at Lochend, with a runner between Colvend and Dalbeattie. In those days it was no uncommon occurrence to have letters tampered with and opened either from curiosity or with some worse motive. At that time letters were fastened with wafers, or when of greater importance they were sealed with wax. The day of envelopes was not yet. A letter fastened by a wafer could be opened without detection; it was otherwise with a letter sealed with wax.

The main industry of the parish, that on which its prosperity depends and has always depended, is farming, agricultural and pastoral. But there is another industry, ship-building and ship-

repairing, to omit or overlook which would be to do my subject scant justice.

Some sixty or seventy years ago ship-building on a limited scale was carried on at the Scaur, which, as many of you know, is situated on the estuary of the water of Urr, within a mile and a half of its mouth. And about the period with which my paper begins it attained considerable dimensions under Mr Henry Cumming. To him the Scaur owed more than to any single individual. At an early age Mr Cumming betook himself to Whitehaven, and in the firm of Mr Brocklebank he learned and mastered the principles and practical work of ship-building. From Whitehaven he went to America, where he designed and built many vessels, one of them a ship of 700 or 800 tons, equal in dimensions to any ship then afloat. From America he returned to his native parish, and in company with his brother John commenced ship-building at the Scaur, and turned out brigs and schooners of dimensions varying from 30 to 90 and 100 tons. On his death his nephew James continued the business for a short time. The last vessel turned out was the Balcary Lass in 1884. She was 240 tons burden. She made two prosperous voyages, but was lost in the third in a terrible gale off the coast of Newfoundland. From that time ship-building at the Scaur ceased, iron taking the place of wood in the construction of vessels of all classes and sizes. Now all that is done at the Scaur is the repairing of such wooden vessels as lay up to be refitted.

Among the minor industries which were still carried on in the parish fifty years ago was handloom weaving. At the time when I came to the parish there were no fewer than six looms kept in constant employment. The thrifty farmers' wives of that period never thought of buying blankets, either Scotch or English, for themselves, or for their daughters when they were about to be married, and were expected to bring something with them for the plenishing of their husbands' houses. Neither did the farmers, their wives, or their daughters, in going about their ordinary avocations, wear anything but cloth and drugget, the produce of their own wool, and the outcome of their own industry. Fashion had not yet looked in upon Colvend and turned the heads of the young, and in a less degree of the old. Weaving then was in full swing, and webs could hardly be turned out quick enough to meet the demand. To prevent disappointment the loom had to be bespoken weeks before the web was required. Now the

occupation of the handloom weaver is gone, the click of the shuttle and the thud of the beam are no longer heard in Colvend, and with the cessation of handloom weaving there has ceased contemporaneously the occupation and art of spinning, the one art and occupation being dependent on the other. Fifty years ago there were several spinning wheels in the parish, the big wheel for spinning wool, the small for flax or hemp. The big wheel was kept in motion by the spinner advancing and receding, but always on foot; the small wheel by the spinner sitting and keeping the wheel in motion by one foot on a pedal, the hands being employed meanwhile in pulling down the tow from the distaff and guiding the thread. The big wheel I have frequently seen in operation in the parish, but not the less. Yet, doubtless, the little wheel must have been in operation in the parish within the specified period, for both yarn of wool, and thread of flax were required in weaving some of the kinds of cloth made by the handloom, such as drugget, a coarse kind of cloth consisting of wool or worsted and hemp woven together, and linsey-woolsey, a finer cloth, made up, as the name implies, of flax and wool combined. But, whether the distaff and spindle were in use in the parish within the last fifty years or not, they doubtless were in other parts of Scotland. I myself have seen the little wheel in common use in a parish farther removed than Colvend from the advancing civilization, and also the distaff and spindle, a method of spinning more primitive than either big or little wheel. But neither big nor little wheel is now known in Colvend.

At one time a shoemaker and tailor were to be found in every hamlet or little group of houses. At this moment there is not a shoemaker in the parish, and only one tailor, and he is only partially employed. Formerly there were four tailors in the parish who took in work to be done in their own houses at stated rates, or perambulated the country making and mending in the cottages and farm houses, getting their food and a small payment, 1s 6d or 2s for the day's work. Now there is but one tailor, and he only partially employed.

There are two trades in the parish, however, which, mid all the changes which have taken place and are still taking place, hold their ground unchanged and undiminished—the trades of joiner and blacksmith. There were four or five joiners' shops in the parish, and four smithies, fifty years ago; each with its head and one or two apprentices, and there is the same number still, and

nearly in the same localities; the smithies are in the identical localities, these being the localities best adapted for the farmers in the different straths. For joiners and blacksmiths in rural and agricultural parishes there will always be found occupation, and there will at all times be need.

Fifty years ago and later there were many small shops scattered up and down the parish. Every little group of cottages had its shop. Villages of twenty or thirty families had two, rival shops, where, besides the ordinary articles of grocery, tea and sugar, butter and eggs, soap and candles, bread, meal, and flour, were to be had, cotton and woollen goods, ropes and twine, brushes, hammers, nails, and almost every article of household economy. They were, in the strictest sense of the term, stores, and stores very cosmopolitan in their contents. They contained every article which, on an emergency, a person might require, not even omitting medicines in common use. To a rural population, distant from a town, and with no direct means of communication, these shops were a great convenience, and, to the shopkeepers themselves, no small source of gain. But their day is done; their number is on the decline, and the few that remain have little or no variety to attract customers. What is the reason?

Travelling grocers, travelling drapers, travelling butchers and bakers, travelling vans, containing every conceivable article of household or outdoor requirements traverse the parish from week's end to week's end.

Fifty years ago two carriers plied semi-weekly between Dalbeattie and Dumfries, and semi-weekly on intermediate days between Dalbeattie and Colvend. They brought the supplies of bread and groceries to the different shops scattered up and down the parish, and parcels to the different houses situated along their route. There were no bread carts, no butchers' carts, no grocers' carts in these days; and, without the carriers, I know not how the people could have procured for themselves the necessaries of life. They were an excellent and most useful class of men, but their day is past, at least so far as Colvend is concerned. Carriers still travel between Dalbeattie and Dumfries, but no one comes to Colvend.

Though not properly speaking a trade, peat-casting was an industry of no little importance in former times, and even in times so recent as fifty or forty years ago. Peats at that time were a chief article of fuel in Colvend. Almost every family in the

parish cut, or got cut and dried for themselves, ten or twenty carts of peats annually, a darg or half a darg, as the case might be. Farmers in many instances had a bit of peat moss in their own farms, and by their lease they had the privilege of cutting as much as they themselves or their cottmen needed, but they were restrained from selling off the ground. Those families in the parish who had not farms, or who did not live on farms which had peat mosses, paid for the privilege of cutting peats on Cloak Moss—10s for a darg of 20 carts; 5s for half a darg. The time chosen for the cutting was about Whitsunday. The day was a long one, beginning at 5 a.m. and ending at or about 6 p.m. Within these hours the party cutting were allowed to turn out as many cartfuls as they were able. Six hands working at the top of their speed could turn out twenty cartfuls; three hands could turn out the half.

At the time referred to coals were only obtainable from England. Small sloops brought them over from Cumberland, and discharged them either at the Scaur or from vessel's side in Sandyhills Bay. But the supply was limited, and the times were uncertain. Now, by train, coals from Ayrshire are brought in any quantity to the neighbouring stations of Dalbeattie and Southwick; and peats, except in small quantities for kindling, are unused even by the poorest. They are or would be dearer even than coals.

Fifty years ago there were only two churches in the parish, and two religious denominations—the Parish Church on the Colvend side, attended by members and adherents of the E.C., and the Meeting House in Mullwirdie, owned by the seceders from the National Church some 80 or 90 years before, but attended largely by adherents of the E.C. living in Southwick, their own Church being too distant for them to attend regularly. This Church is now, or was until very lately, owned by the descendants of the original seceders, or their representatives who mostly belong to the U.P. body.

Colvend and Southwick were for long separate parishes, with separate ministers, each having its own church. But towards the beginning of last century they were united under one minister, the stipend being inadequate for the support of two. This union of the parishes and suppression of one was to the inhabitants of Southwick a real evil, for they all belonged to the one church, the National Church. It removed them to an

insuperable distance from the ordinances in which they delighted to join, and was one main cause of the erection of the Meeting House at Mainsriddel. But it was not the only cause. There was at that time current in the parish a fama affecting the character of the minister of Colvend, and there were rumours prejudicial to the minister of the adjoining parish of Kirkbean, which led the thoughtful and goodly people of both congregations to withdraw from the ministrations of their respective ministers, and to erect what has for well-nigh a hundred years been known as the Meeting House. The knowledge of these things was fresh in the memory of some when I came to the parish. A story told me by one who knew the woman well would have been worthy of a place in Dean Ramsay's Reminiscences. Margaret Thomson was one of those resolute godly women who left her minister and walked every Sabbath from Kirkland in Colvend to Mainsriddel in Southwick, a distance of nearly seven miles. Meeting her one Sunday returning from service at the Meeting House the minister accosted her, "Well, Margaret, where have you been?" "I have been at the Meeting House." "What makes you go so far if you can get the Gospel preached nearer home?" "If you get a tune played what does it signify what instrument it is played on?" "Ah," says Margaret, "but I aye liket it blawn through a clean whustle." The minister didn't tackle Margaret again. She only died a year or two before I came to the parish.

There was no minister in the Meeting House when I came to the parish in 1844, but there was one appointed the year after, who soon left. After a vacancy of a year or two the Rev. Mr Fullarton was chosen, who remained minister of the congregation up to the time of his death some five years ago. His adherents were not numerous; but there were many members and adherents of the E.C. who lived on the Southwick side of the parish. They, with their families, as a rule, attended Mr Fullarton, and formed no inconsiderable part of his congregation. They did not, indeed, leave the Established Church, but regularly as the times came round communicated in the Parish Church. Mr Fullarton lived to a great age, to nearly ninety, and died respected and beloved by all who knew him.

When it became apparent that the ministry of the Rev. Thos. Fullarton, owing to his great age and failing strength, was drawing to a close, Mr Stewart (now Sir Mark J. Stewart) resolved to put into execution a purpose which he had long entertained,

but which, out of regard to the feelings of his friend Mr Fullarton, he had put off for years, viz., the erection of a church for the accommodation of the members and adherents of the Church of Scotland residing in Southwick.

Fifty years ago there were two Parochial Schools in the parish—The Colvend School and the Southwick School—and there was a side school at Barnbarroch supported by subscription.

The Parish Schools were maintained by the heritors, assessed proportionally to their rental, and the school-masters remunerated in terms of an Act of Parliament passed in the reign of George III. But the remuneration was miserably small. There were, as we have said, two schools in the parish, I mean parish or parochial schools, the salaries of which, together, could not by law exceed £52 or £26 each, and this was the payment which each schoolmaster received. This, added to the school fees, which, as a matter of right, belonged to the teachers, raised the emoluments of the one to £48, of the other to £55. They had each, of course, their house and garden free.

Fifty years ago, and for about 15 or 20 years after that date, there was no legal assessment levied for the support of the poor, and there were as many poor in the parish then as now. There were, indeed, more and poorer. I have in my possession the minute book of the Kirk-Session, beginning at the time antecedent to the period with which my paper is concerned, but coming down to it, and continuing for several, indeed for many, years within the period. From this book, and from the book of church collections it appears that the chief source of support at the time was the church collections, supplemented by such voluntary contributions as the heritors chose to give. The church collections were made up mainly of the weekly contributions gathered in by that old-fashioned, importunate, and silent beggar, the church ladle. The sum obtained in this way fifty years ago amounted to £18 or £20. Prior to this time, but never since, fines were imposed on parties coming before the Session for discipline; these were added to the collections. The fees for proclamation of banns before marriage were also added. The sum raised by church collections and the voluntary subscriptions of the heritors rarely exceeded £40, which was distributed by the Kirk-Session annually in sums varying from 5s to 10s, but rarely reaching £1; and this was all the poor had to depend on. But, so long as the

assessment continued voluntary, much kindness was shown by the farmers and wealthier classes to the poor. By degrees the assessment increased, until in 1845 it amounted to £83, which, added to the church collections, brought it up to £104. Some years after this, owing to the refusal of one or two individuals to pay their voluntary proportions, recourse was had to the adoption of the Act sanctioning the imposition of a legal assessment divided equally between proprietors and tenants. What that means we all know; but how great the difference between cost and management of the old system and the modern few understand. The number of poor in the parish is diminished by a half, but the expense is increased three or fourfold. It stands now in 1894 at £300. Doubtless, the poor are better cared for, and the management is more efficient. But the Kirk-Session, or the heritors and Kirk-Session jointly, did the work kindly, impartially, and with no expense to the parish.

10th January, 1895.

Mr James Barbour in the Chair.

New Members.—The Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry and Lord Herries.

Donation.—Mr Bridges, slater, presented through Mr J. Barbour, a testoon of Queen Mary.

Exhibits.—Mr Barbour exhibited documents signed by James VI., by James, Lord Torthorwald, and others, and a charter granted by Peter Howatt, Abbot of Crossraguel, to George Grahame, of the lands called the Hollow Close and Brigholme in Annan, 1621.

Communications.

1. *Birrens and Birrenswark.*

By James Macdonald, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot.

For more than a century and a half certain earthworks at Birrens, together with others at Birrenswark of a somewhat different character, have been regarded as the most remarkable examples of Roman camp engineering to be now seen in North Britain—Ardoch, in Perthshire, alone excepted. These Dumfriesshire camps are generally looked upon as having had a close

connection with one another—Birrens being a Station or Fort that had been occupied by a Roman garrison for a longer or shorter period, and the Birrenswark enclosures, summer quarters to which detachments of the legionaries might be moved in turn from their more confined winter entrenchments. In the remarks that follow, I propose to state and review as impartially as I can the evidence that has been deemed sufficient to establish the truth of these propositions.

The discoverer of the earthworks referred to, so far as the archæological world is concerned, was Gordon—the "Sandy" Gordon of the "Antiquary." It is somewhat strange that they were entirely overlooked by all previous observers. Camden, who had collected what information he could for his notices of the various counties or districts of Scotland to be found in the successive editions of the "Britannia" published in his lifetime, knew nothing of them. It was the same with Gordon of Straloch. In the account of Annandale, which he wrote for Bleau's "Scottish Atlas," neither Birrens nor Birrenswark is mentioned. More unaccountable still is the silence of that most industrious writer, Sir Robert Sibbald. When gathering materials for his "Historical Inquiries," he secured, as we learn from Bishop Nicholson, the services of residents in the different districts of the country, who furnished him with detailed reports on all matters of antiquarian interest in each of them. In this way he received a description of the "Stewardy of Anandale, with a map of the country, by Mr Johnston, a minister there," and also of "The Shire of Dumfrese, by Dr Archibald, with his account of the natural products of Galloway and Dumfreseshire." Some of these papers are preserved among the Sibbald MSS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, though the two that relate to Dumfriesshire appear to be awanting. From what we read in the "Inquiries," we may infer that Sir Robert's correspondents had spoken of there having been a Roman Fort at Caerlaverock, and another at the "Village" of Solway, as well as a Roman Port on the Nith, somewhere below the town of Dumfries. But these are his only references to Roman antiquities in the county. The "Historical Inquiries" was published in 1707.

Alexander Gordon next comes on the scene. Born in Aberdeen towards the close of the seventeenth century, he studied at one or other of the two northern Universities, now united, taking there the degree of M.A. Little is known of his earlier

years. He is said to have travelled for some time on the Continent, probably with some wealthy family in the capacity of a private tutor, when his taste for the study of antiquities may have been fostered, if not developed. To his other accomplishments he added a knowledge of painting and music. Returning to his native country, he spent three years, as he himself informs us, in visiting different parts of the kingdom, "exploring, drawing, and measuring ancient remains." But the straitened pecuniary circumstances under which he prosecuted his researches were not favourable to their completeness.

It was while thus engaged that Gordon became known to "Baron" Clerk, who then owned Drumcrieff, near Moffat, in addition to his ancestral estate of Pennicuik. By Clerk he was introduced to the English antiquary, Roger Gale. Frequent references to Gordon, not always complimentary, are made in the correspondence between Gale and Clerk, published in the "Reliquiae Galeanae." The first and by far the most important result of Gordon's studies in the antiquities of Scotland was the "Itinerarium Septentrionale," published in 1726, followed six years later by "Additions and Corrections by way of Supplement." This, it may be remembered, was the folio volume, the inspection of which by Jonathan Oldbuck, as he journeyed with Lovel in the Queensberry diligence, helped to soothe his irritation at the delay that had taken place ere the vehicle left Mrs Macleuchar's "laigh shop." After a somewhat chequered career at home, Gordon emigrated to South Carolina. Here fortune at last smiled upon him; for at his death about the year 1754 he seems to have been possessed of considerale means.

From the manner in which the Fort of Birrens or Middlebie and the camps on Birrenswark Hill are introduced in the "Itinerarium" to the notice of its readers, one would hardly infer that they were new discoveries. Not the slightest hint is given as to how the author's attention was drawn to them. They make their appearance in his pages as if it was to be expected as a matter of course that they should. Without the slightest hesitation, all of them are at once put down as Roman. It is fair, however, to say as regards Birrens that in doing so Gordon had likely the mounds of Ardoch in view. These had been classed as Roman by Sibbald; and he must have been struck with the resemblance they present to those at Birrens. His impression that Birrens was Roman

was naturally, and perhaps justly, strengthened by seeing among the ruins of the Fort long hollow square stones, a stone-arched vault, marks of stone buildings, and one stone with Roman letters upon it, "but," he adds, "so defaced that it was unintelligible." He also notes that several Roman coins and a gold medal of Constantius Chlorus had been found there.

In the case of Birrenswark Gordon gives two reasons in support of his belief that the earthworks are Roman. In situation they agree "exactly with Agricola's march in the second summer's expedition," and they correspond "with camps in use among the Romans in the reign of Titus Vespasian, as they are beautifully and accurately described by Josephus." Neither of these reasons is of itself convincing proof of the origin ascribed to the "camp" or "camps," for there are really two. It is by no means an ascertained fact that Agricola marched past Birrenswark on his way north, and unless the defences that guard the entrances can be shown to be characteristically Roman, there is little in the form of these entrenchments to connect them with the Romans, for neither of the two can be properly said to have been "measured out in a square," as Gordon describes them. All their irregularity of outline, as may be seen by a reference to Roy's plan, is carefully concealed in the plan Gordon gives, in which they are represented as oblong, with straight sides and rounded angles. They are, he assures us, "vestiges of the first Roman Camp of any to be met with in the South of Scotland, and the most entire and best preserved one I ever saw." Birrens he regards as an outlying "exploratory castellum," subordinate to Birrenswark.

Connecting both localities with Agricola, Gordon supposes that general, after defeating the Ordovices in North Wales and reducing to subjection the island of Anglesey (Mona) to have advanced northwards by as direct a course as possible. Having crossed the Solway Firth at ebb tide, somewhere due south of Birrenswark, he made for that hill, then as now a prominent feature in the landscape, and encamped on its slopes. Here are still to be seen the remains of the two earthworks already alluded to, one on its northern the other on its southern side, which Gordon believed to have been raised on that occasion by Agricola's troops. He seems also to have thought that the Roman commander had then, or on his retnrn southwards, left a detachment there or at Birrens, the latter of which "the

succeeding Romans afterwards possessed themselves of in their other attempts to subdue Scotland."

Of the two entrenchments on Birrenswark, the southern is the larger, measuring internally, according to the 25-inch Ordnance map, 850 feet by 600 feet. The smaller or northern is 950 feet by 350 feet. Both of them are roughly rectilinear, and, in the words of Gordon, "surrounded by two ramparts and a ditch in the middle." In the ramparts are several openings or gates, defended by small quasi-circular mounds a short distance in front of each. On the flat top of the hill there were in Roy's time, some thirty years later, traces of several curvilinear works, and, at its foot, remains of two small redoubts. Gordon represents the two principal camps as joined by "a huge rampart of stone and earth running round the east end of the hill." This connection led him to look upon them as forming one great camp. In the same quarter Roy saw "imperfect vestiges of two lines, including between them two weaker forts, whereof one is square and the other circular."

Two miles and a half south-east from Birrenswark is Birrens —an earthwork of a different type. The plan in the "Military Antiquities" shows it to have had the form of a parallelogram. Its sides, at least three of them, were once defended by from four to seven ramparts of earth, with intervening ditches. Those on the south, if they ever existed, had ere Roy's day been swept away by the waters of the Mein; and those on the east and west have also all but disappeared. The exterior dimensions were 1050 feet by 700 feet. Of the other earthworks in North Britain it most nearly resembles Ardoch, and Lyne, near Peebles. Roy figures two more that show in his plates traces of having been surrounded in a similar way—Castledykes near Carstairs, and Strageth in Perthshire. All these he sets down as Roman Stations.

In 1731 a notable discovery was made at Birrens. This was the sculptured figure of the goddess Brigantia, an altar dedicated to Mercury, and the inscribed pedestal of a statue of Mercury, all of which, after being for many years part of the collection of antiquities in Pennicuik House, are now in the National Museum, Edinburgh—the gift of the late Sir George Clerk, Bart. The circumstances under which they were secured by "Baron" Clerk had best be related in his own words. In a marginal note to "Memoirs of My Life" he writes:—"About this time (1731) the

five pieces of antiquity now at Pennicuick were found near the Roman Camp at Middlebie. They consist of a statue of the goddess Brigantia, and two altars inscribed to Mercury. These stood in a little temple which, by age, had fallen down, and become a ruinous kind of heap. These ruins were in the grounds of a poor lady. She caused some stones to be made use of for building a little stable. When I chanced to pass the way I discovered the stones, and gave the poor lady two guineas for them. I consider these antiquities the chief of the kind now in Britain, and therefore I wrote a Latin dissertation upon them, that at least posterity may not despise and destroy them." In a subsequent note he describes the spot where they were found as being "on the west side of the ancient Roman Camp at Middlebie." Besides these antiquities, there are a number of other altars and inscribed stones in the National Museum and elsewhere that are said to have been found at Birrens. Pennant ("Tour in Scotland," vol. iii., Appendix No. viii.) gives a list of fourteen, most of which were then, he states, preserved "in the walls about Hoddam." It includes, however, the Pennicuik sculptures, which were certainly not there. Wilson in his "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland" describes others.

Either by intuition or by accident Gordon was thus right when he fixed on Birrens as the site of a Roman settlement, although it was probably something more than a *castra aestiva* subsidiary to Birrenswark. Only an important station or fort could have yielded so many lapidary relics of Roman times. We are not, however, to jump to the conclusion that the present ramparts of Birrens, all of them at least, belong to the original Roman fort. There is nothing in the classical writers, or, so far as I know, in the Roman antiquities of other countries that goes to show that the Romans in the case of permanent stations practised such a mode of fortification. Their camps proper, the resting places for the night of the legionaries when on the march, were protected by a single rampart of earth, hurriedly raised, and a ditch; but their large stations were walled, and had usually gateways of a particular size and form, as may be seen at Chesters and Birdoswald. It is conceivable, no doubt, that a temporary camp might in some instances have been converted into a permanent station, and the original defences allowed to remain. It seems, however, not unreasonable to ask for more direct proof than has yet been offered, that such a series of

ramparts and ditches as surrounds Birrens and certain other "camps" in North Britain are certainly Roman, before accepting as unquestionably correct the popular and, it may be added, the very natural theory of their origin. Since Birrens ought, I believe, to be regarded as an advanced post intended to check the advance of the natives of the north in their repeated assaults on the southern wall, and subsequently as an integral part of its lines of defence, there is the more reason why all doubts on a point so interesting should, if possible, be cleared away.

The precise locality where, the time when, and the circumstances under which, the Birrens' sculptures were found, those once at Pennicuik excepted, have, unfortunately, not been noted. Sir John Clerk's, however, were certainly met with to the west of the present mounds and ditches, and there is every reason to suppose that some of the antiquities in Pennant's list were also discovered there. They may have been within or adjoining to a "civil settlement" attached to the station proper. In 1831 the writer of the account of Middlebie in the "New Statistical Account of Scotland" has the following statement:—"There was originally another camp adjoining to it (Birrens), which, being on the ground of a small proprietor, was dug up some years ago, and is now completely destroyed. In this last there were found many splendid specimens of Roman antiquity, particularly large stones, neatly cut and ornamented with inscriptions perfectly legible; but most of them have been sold or given away, and none, I believe, exist in their native parish except one erected in the neighbouring garden of Mr Irving of Burnfoot." There were also buildings within this space, one of them erected, though perhaps at a somewhat recent date, to proteet Brigantia, if we may adopt Sir John Clerk's suggestion. "I doubt not," he says, "but some great men in England, who are lovers of antiquity, have so far reverenced the heathen religion as to have built a temple for the sake of this statue." This opinion he qualifies somewhat in his Latin Dissertation, in which he speaks of the building that sheltered it as a *templum seu delubrum Romanum*. "It was built," he tells us, "of squared stone, and was thirty-six feet in length and about twelve in breadth. The situation was somewhat marshy, and lay outside the fortifications of the camp, as if it stood in need of no protection from man, being committed to the care of the gods of the Romans." It would be interesting to find out if possible the

exact position of this "little temple," and some particulars about the stable, the dwelling, and the grounds of the "poor lady" as well as about the lady herself. Meantime we cannot determine with the necessary degree of certainty what connection, in point of time, these and other Birrens antiquities had originally with its ramparts and ditches. The Romans chose the sites for their stations and camps with such admirable skill and foresight that we need not be surprised at finding that after they left a country the native tribes or subsequent invaders took possession of the same positions, refortifying or strengthening them in accordance with their own ideas of defensive warfare.

Sir John Clerk's discovery at Birrens lent such probability to Gordon's statements, regarding both it and Birrenswark, that they soon gained currency. With some modifications they were adopted by Horsley in his "Britannia Romana," who, however, reversed Gordon's decision as to the comparative importance of the two places by identifying Birrens as the "Blatum Bulgium" of the Antonine Itinerary. According to Sir John Clerk, the suggestion of their being one and the same was originally his; and in his correspondence he indicates that he had a grievance against Horsley for omitting to acknowledge indebtedness for it. But it was Major-General William Roy who secured for belief in the Roman origin of the mounds at Birrens and those on Birrenswark that all but universal acceptance it still enjoys. Himself a soldier, he had many qualifications for the task of investigating the character of these and similar remains. He took an active part as an Officer of Engineers in the first Government Survey of Scotland (1747 to 1755), and had thus unusual facilities for collecting much of the necessary materials. In the course of the Survey operations, Roy's attention was drawn almost accidentally to certain supposed traces of the Romans in the north. A military friend, Captain (afterwards General) Melville, on reading the Agricola of Tacitus, became penetrated with the idea that "for reasons of war" the battle of Mons Graupins or Grampius must have been fought in the north of Forfarshire if not in Kincardine. With this view he made a tour through Strathmore, where, after some search, he discovered four earthworks or enclosures, which, from their situation, he thought must have been occupied by Agricola during the last year of the war. Soon after he met with Roy, whom he made a proselyte to his opinions, and induced to follow up the matter.

About the same time the notorious forgery, "De Situ Britanniæ," falsely ascribed to Richard of Cirencester, and introduced to the notice of antiquaries by Dr Wm. Stukeley, was causing no small stir. Believing in its genuineness Roy resolved to make a study of the recently discovered "camps" by the aid of the new light supposed to be thrown on them. The fruit of this was "The Military Antiquities of the Romans in North Britain." When finished, Roy deposited one copy of the MS. with drawings in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and another in the King's Library. In 1793, shortly after the author's decease, the work was published at the expense of the London Society.

In fulfilment of his design Roy gives first of all a general view of the transactions of the Romans in North Britain, drawn from the classical writers. He next explains the constitution of a Roman legion and a consular army in the days of the republic and the system of castrametation then in use as described by Polybius. This enables him to compare the form and apparent arrangements of the Strathmore and similar camps with those of the Roman encampments of republican times. That they had the same essential characteristics appeared to him beyond dispute. From the size of our northern camps he inferred the number of men they were intended to contain, and, since the large majority of them were, in his opinion, Polybian, the probable strength of Agricola's army, and the route followed by him in his northern campaigns. A lengthened commentary on the De Situ of "Richard" succeeds, and the work concludes with an account of the Antonine wall. The whole is illustrated by a series of drawings of camps, &c. In an appendix there is discussed among other subjects another system of Roman castrametation known as the Hyginian. It was, he believes, introduced soon after Agricola's time in consequence of the changes in the constitution of the Roman army that gradually took place under the empire. By these studies Roy was led to conclude that Birrens had been a Roman station, possibly as Horsley conjectured "Blatum Bulgium." Its date he does not attempt to fix; in fact, the notice of it in his text is provokingly meagre, and gives one the impression that he knew it and Birrenswark only by the plans sent him through Sir David Baird, under whom the survey of the southern lowlands was conducted. The Birrenswark camps Roy held to be Hyginian. They were not, therefore, made by Agricola. He is of opinion that they were probably occupied by the Sixth Legion,

which did not come into Britain till the reign of Hadrian, and whose headquarters were at York. He further supposes that soon after Agricola's recall, the Romans lost the greater part of the country between the two isthmuses, and that Hadrian in consequence fixed the boundary of the empire in Britain on the southern isthmus. While, however, the wall was being built, he posted a detachment of his army at Birrenswark to watch the enemy's motions, especially if they advanced in any great body from the north to interrupt the work. The first halting place of Agricola, in the west of which any trace remained in his day, was, Roy thought, a camp on Torwood Moor, near Lockerby. Adopted in the main by succeeding antiquaries, Roy's views on the Roman occupation of Southern Scotland may be said still to hold the field.

Roy, it must be acknowledged, made an earnest attempt to grapple with his subject. His method has all the appearance of being strictly scientific. He seeks to plant his foot firmly before taking another step in advance, and to remove any obstacles that seem to stand in his way. The most fatal blot on his work is his acceptance of the *De Situ Britanniæ* as genuine. This not only vitiates his "rectification of the ancient geography of North Britain," but leads him far astray in other matters, although it only indirectly affects what he says of Birrens and Birrenswark. Moreover, he, too, readily fell in with Captain Melville's opinion as to the Strathmore "camps." Under its influence he saw resemblances between them and those of the normal Roman type that it may be safely said would never have otherwise occurred to him. The wish became father to the thought. But after his work was finished his own confidence in his conclusions must have been shaken. In 1787 a "camp" was discovered near the sources of the Ythan, in Aberdeenshire, with characteristics as Polybian as those of Strathmore and Torwood Moor; yet, it is situated where, on any interpretation of Tacitus' words, Agricola could hardly have been. Its existence is said to have been made known to him; and a plan of it with particulars is the last plate in the "Military Antiquities." The insertion of this plate, however, is probably due to his editor or editors. Roy could hardly, without some explanation, have sanctioned the statement made on it that this Aberdeenshire "camp" resembles "the camps which are supposed to be Roman on the south side of the Grampian hills." It is not too much to say that the discovery of this camp

invalidates, if it does not destroy, much of the reasoning by which Roy had sought to identify so many of our northern rectilinear earthworks with Agricola, and seems to leave their Roman origin more doubtful than ever.

From the statement and review now given, the following inferences regarding Birrens and Birrenswark appear to be legitimately deducible:—(1) Birrens as shown by the inscribed stones found there was almost to a certainty an important Roman settlement. Its earthworks may also be Roman. But the belief that they are, mainly rests at present on the sculptures found in their neighbourhood and on their quadrangular form. As we know that Roman Camp defences were sometimes imitated by tribes with whom they came into hostile contact, and who might even modify them to suit their own ideas of a stronghold, it appears to be necessary to have additional proof of a connection in time between the Roman antiquities found at Birrens and the mounds to be seen there, before we can affirm that the latter are also certainly Roman. The proximity of two objects of antiquity is not sufficient evidence that they belong to the same people and age. (2) Since it is conceivable that a Roman garrison at Birrens would establish a post of observation at Birrenswark, the camps on the latter may be Roman. Their form, irregular as it is, so far favours the supposition. They have a certain resemblance to some of the camps figured in the Plates of Napoleon's *Histoire de Jules César*, and said to be Roman. It is not to be supposed that Roman Camps were always laid out with the geometrical regularity assigned to them by certain writers. The nature of the ground must have often determined their outline. At the same time, we know far too little about the social and military arrangements of the different peoples that successively occupied Annandale in post-Roman times to enable us on the evidence at present available to say with confidence when or by whom the Birrenswark encampments were raised. Further investigation is required before it can be held as beyond dispute that they are the work of the Romans. General Roy's arguments, while ingenious, are by no means satisfactory when critically examined.

It may now be asked, Have we then any means of obtaining the desired evidence? Ancient history is all but silent about both Birrens and Birrenswark. But there still remains one source of information to which we can go with some chance of success—the mounds themselves. Within them the secret of their origin and

subsequent history possibly lies hidden. The search for it, however, ought to be conducted with great care and circumspection. Unskilful hands might destroy those venerable remains of the past, leaving unsolved the problem they present.

General Pitt-Rivers has recently communicated to the "Wiltshire Antiquarian and Natural History Magazine" a most instructive account of the exploration of a camp at South Lodge, Rushmore Park. The earthwork is of squarish form; the lines of its sides are somewhat irregular, and the ditch was filled up by silting. He began by causing six sections, 10 feet wide each, to be cut across the ditch and rampart in different parts of the camp. In the first three of these nothing worthy of notice was found, showing, as he remarks, "what very false conceptions are liable to be formed by merely digging one or two sections in a camp." He therefore determined to dig the camp all over. The ditch was an average depth of 6.6 feet, and could, from the nature of the soil with which it was filled, be divided into two halves, one above and the other below a three feet horizontal line. In the course of turning this soil over the workmen came upon a number of objects of the Bronze Age, most of them in the lower of the two halves, affording sufficient evidence that the camp was of that period. This opinion was further confirmed by the pottery found throughout it. Every fragment got below the three feet line of the ditch was British and pre-Roman, while of those dug out above that line nearly a half were of Roman age. Again, of a large number of fragments found in the ramparts, all, with one doubtful exception, were British. In the surface of the interior space the pottery was of both kinds. The conclusion to be drawn from these facts is obvious. The pottery in the rampart must have been deposited there when the camp was formed, and that in the lower half of the ditch during or soon after its first occupation. This pottery taken in connection with the Bronze Age implements clearly proves that the camp had been originally constructed in the Bronze Age. The Romano-British fragments in the upper half of the ditch and in the interior shows that it was afterwards either occupied for a time by the Romans or frequented by Romanized Britons. Care was taken so to carry out the excavations as to leave the camp in a condition that "very much resembles what it was at the time it was in use."

I have referred at some length to the Rushmore Park excavations to show how much can be accomplished by a careful

examination of a camp. What thorough and systematic excavations at Birrens and Birrenswark might bring to light, no one can meantime tell. The expense would be considerable, and the results might not be proportionate. But the question that has occupied our attention this evening is not likely to be satisfactorily answered, unless the camps themselves can be got to give the needed evidence.

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2. *All that is known of Epictetus.*

By Edward J. Chinnock, LL.D.

Arrian wrote a life of Epictetus, which is mentioned by Simplicius, the last of the great philosophers. This valuable book has not come down to us, and the consequence is that we know scarcely anything of one of the most admirable men of antiquity. The date of his birth and death are alike unknown, and only a few facts in his life have been discovered from the incidental remarks of about half-a-dozen authors. These notices are as follow :—

Suidas writes :—"Epictetus, a philosopher, of Hierapolis, a city of Phrygia, a slave of Epaphroditus, one of the emperor Nero's bodyguards. He was lame of one leg from a flux, dwelt at Nicopolis, a town of New Epirus, and lived until the reign of Marcus Antoninus. He wrote many books." This last statement we know on the authority of Arrian and Simplicius to be incorrect.

Simplicius, in chapter 13 of his "Commentary on the Encheiridion," says :—"Epictetus himself, who says this, was both a slave and weak in body, and lame from an early age. He practised the severest poverty, so that his house in Rome never needed any bolts ; since there was nothing within except a straw-mattress and a rush-mat, upon which he used to sleep." The same writer, in chapter 46 of the same work, says :—"This admirable Epictetus, after he had passed the greater part of his life alone, at length late in life took a woman into his house, as nurse for a child, which one of his friends, on account of poverty, was going to expose, but which Epictetus took and reared."

Lucian, in his life of the philosopher Demonax (ch. 55), has the following ancedote :—"When on one occasion Epictetus found fault with him, and advised him to take a wife and beget

children, 'For,' said he, 'this also is a philosopher's duty, to leave another in the world in place of himself,' Demonax most conclusively refuted his argument by answering—'Give me, then, Epictetus, one of your own daughters.'" Again, in his book "Adversus Indoctum" (ch. 13), Lucian says:—"There was a certain man in our own time, and I think he is still alive, who bought the earthenware lamp of Epictetus the Stoic for three thousand drachmæ. For I suppose he hoped, if he read by that lamp at night, that the wisdom also of Epictetus would present itself to him in sleep, and that he would be like that admirable old man."

Epictetus himself says in "The Discourses" (I., 18, 15):—"I also lately had an iron lamp beside my household gods; hearing a noise at the door I ran down, and found that the lamp had been carried off. I reflected that he who had taken it had done what might have been expected. What then? 'To-morrow,' said I, 'you will find an earthenware lamp; for a man loses only those things which he has.'" Again, in I., 29, 21, he says:—"For this reason also I lost my lamp, because the thief was superior to me in wakefulness. But he bought a lamp at such a price; for a lamp he became a thief, for a lamp faithless, for a lamp like a wild beast."

Aulus Gellius (Noctes Atticae, II., 18) says that Epictetus composed an epigram upon himself to this effect:—"I was Epictetus, a slave, and maimed in body, and in poverty an Irus, and dear to the immortals." The same is found in *Macrobius* (Saturnalia I., 11), probably copied from Gellius. This epigram is also found in the Greek anthology. It was ascribed by Planudes to Leonidas of Alexandria, but without adequate reason. Brunck put it among the anonymous epigrams. There is no probability that Epictetus himself was the author of it, as Gellius says he was. Again, Gellius says (XV., 11):—"In the reign of Domitian, the philosophers were banished by a decree of the Senate from the city and Italy; at which time Epictetus, the philosopher, also, on account of this decree of the Senate, departed from Rome to Nicopolis."

Celsus, the physician, relates the following anecdote, which is found in the seventh book of Origen's work "Adversus Celsum":—"Epictetus, when his master was twisting his leg with an instrument of torture, with a smile said, without the least terror, 'You will break it.' And when he had broken it, he said, 'Did

I not tell you, you would break it?'" This anecdote was accepted as fact by the early Christian writers as well as the pagans, though we know from Simplicius and Suidas, who no doubt had the life of the philosopher by Arrian as their authority, that Epictetus was lame from his infancy. Origen thus comments on this tale:—"Celsus sends us back to Epictetus, admiring his noble saying; but his speeeh about the breaking of his leg is not worthy to be compared with the marvellous deeds of Jesus." In his first invective against Julian, he says:—"You who praise the hemlock of Socrates, the leg of Epictetus, and the bag of Anaxagoras, whose philosophy was rather compulsory than voluntary."

Gregory Nazianzen (Epist. 58 to Philogrius) says:—"Epictetus, when his leg was being stretched and tortured, philosophised as if in another man's body; and it seemed that his leg was broken before he perceived the violence."* Again in his Iambic poems (Carmen XVIII.), he says:—"You say that the leg of Epictetus was broken before he uttered any slavish word from the violence of pain; for he said, as we hear, that the body of man is a slave, but that his mind is free; and you mention the pounding of the hands of Anaxarchus in a mortar. Do you praise these things? So do I; but they were brave in evils they could not avoid," &c. Epictetus himself says in his "Discourses" (I., 12, 24):—"Must, then, my leg be lamed? Slave, do you then on account of one poor leg find fault with the world? Also in I., 8, 14:—"If I were a philosopher, ought you also to become lame?" In I., 16, 20:—"What else can I, a lame old man, do than sing hymns to God?"

Spartianus, in his life of Hadrian (ch. XVI), says:—"He was a very intimate friend of the philosophers, Epictetus and Heliodorus."

Themistius (Oratio ad Jovianum) says:—"Thus also the fathers of your kingdom honoured the ancestors of this art—Augustus, the famous Arius; Tiberius Thrasylus; the great Trajan Dio, the golden-tongued; the two Antonines Epictetus." This statement of Themistius as well as that of Suidas, that Epictetus lived to the reign of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, is

*In the margin of one of his manuscripts, at I., 8, 14, Schweighaeuser found this note:—"That Epictetus had been wounded on the leg and was lame, the Theologus has also mentioned." This term was applied both to St. John and Gregory by the early Christians.

absurd. M. Antoninus, in his "Meditations" (I., 7), says:—"I owe to Rusticus that I read the commentaries of Epictetus which he communicated to me out of his own library." He also quotes from his "Discourses" several times. The only acquaintance the Antonines could have had with the philosopher was with his books, and there is no evidence that the elder Antonine had any knowledge even of them. The popularity of this philosopher is attested by Origen (lib. VI. adversus Celsum):—"Therefore we can see that Plato is in the hands of those who are esteemed learned; but Epictetus is admired by the ordinary folk, and by those who have a desire of improving, since they feel that they become better from his discourses." These are all the materials which we have for a life of Epictetus. He was born about the middle of the first century at Hierapolis, in Phrygia, about five miles north of Laodicea, between the Mæander and its branch the Lycus. It is mentioned by St. Paul in Colossians IV., 13, as the seat of a Christian Church. It has been conjectured that the parents of Epictetus were poor, and that they sold their boy into slavery. But whether this were so or not, one of the few facts we know of him is that he was a slave in Rome, and that his master was the notorious Epaphroditus. This man was a favourite freedman of Nero mentioned by Tacitus (Annals XV., 55). He is called by Suetonius *a libellis*, the officer whose duty it was to receive petitions. He was one of the four men who accompanied Nero in his flight, and he it was who assisted him to commit suicide (Suetonius' "Life of Nero," 49 ch.). For this service to his lord, he was many years after put to death by Domitian (Suetonius' "Life of Domitian," 14—Dio Cassius 67, 14). It has been erroneously supposed by some that he was identical with the Epaphroditus whom St. Paul in Philippians II., 25, calls "my brother and fellow-worker and fellow-soldier, and your messenger and minister to my need." He has also been identified with the Epaphroditus to whom Josephus dedicated his works; but this is impossible, as the latter Epaphroditus was alive and in office under Trajan. Grotius says he was a freedman and procurator of that emperor. We do not know much about Epaphroditus, the secretary of Nero, and the master of Epictetus. He seems to have placed his slave under the tuition of one or more philosophers at Rome, as we find that Epictetus attended the lectures of Musonius Rufus, a famous Stoic philosopher. Some interesting remarks were communicated

to Schweighaeuser by Garnier, the author of a "Memoire sur les Ouvrages d'Epictète":—"Epictète dut apparemment les avantages d'une éducation distinguée à la fantaisie qu 'avaient sur la fin de la République, et sous les premiers Empereurs, les grands de Rome de compter parmi leurs nombreux esclaves des Grammairiens, des Poètes, des Rheteurs et des Philosophes, dans le même esprit et les mêmes vues qui ont porté de riches financiers dans ces derniers siècles à former à grands fraix de riches et de nombreuses Bibliothèques. Cette supposition est la seule qui puisse nous expliquer, comment un malheureux enfant, né pauvre comme Irus, avoit reçu une éducation distinguée, et comme un Stoicien rigide se trouvoit être esclave d'Epaphrodite, l'un des officiers de la garde Impériale. Car on ne soupçonnera pas, que ce fut par prédilection pour la doctrine Stoique, et pour son propre usage, que le confident et le ministre des débauches de Néron, eût été curieux de se procurer un pareil esclave."

It is assumed that Epictetus was manumitted by his master Epaphroditus; but there is no statement to this effect to be found. At anyrate, by some means or other, he obtained his freedom, and began to teach in Rome. But in A.D. 89 Domitian expelled the philosophers from Italy (see Tacitus, Agricola 2; Suetonius, Domitian 10; Dio Cassius 67-13; Gellius 15-11), and he retired to Nicopolis, in Epirus, where he opened a school of philosophy, and lectured till he was an old man. Nicopolis was a city which had been built by Augustus to commemorate the victory at Actium (see Suetonius' "Octavian," 18). The fact that Epictetus taught at Nicopolis is stated by Suidas and Gellius; and Spartian says against all probability that he was a familiar friend of the Emperor Hadrian; but nothing is said about his ever returning to Rome. There are frequent allusions in the "Discourses" to Nicopolis as his place of residence. Here it was that Arrian became his disciple, and took down in writing his lectures, which form the "Discourses." Like Socrates, Epictetus wrote nothing, and just as for our knowledge of the doctrines of the former we are indebted to his disciples, Plato and Xenophon, so we owe our knowledge of those of the latter to Arrian, afterwards the historian of Alexander the Great. He himself says in the epistle to Lucius Gellius which forms the preface to the "Discourses":—"Neither did I compose the 'Discourses' of Epictetus in the way a man might compose such things; nor did I publish them myself, for I assert that I did not

even compose them. But whatever I heard him say, the same I tried to write down in the very words as nearly as possible, in order to preserve them as memorials for myself in the future of his reasoning and freedom of speech. Accordingly they are naturally such remarks as a man would address to another, speaking without previous preparation, not such discourses as a man would compose that afterwards they might be read by others."

CONVERSAZIONE, JANUARY 24, 1895.

Invitations were issued to the members and their friends to a conversazione to be held in Free St. George's Hall, and they responded in large numbers. The hall was carpeted and tastefully draped for the occasion, and tea tables were dotted about it. As the members of the company entered they were individually introduced to Sir James Crichton-Browne, president of the Association; and then, grouping themselves around the little tables or moving about among acquaintances, had tea and cakes handed round to them. This was followed by a short programme of instrumental music. Miss Andson, Miss Hamilton, Victoria Road, and Miss Stark, Woodlea, played selections on the pianoforte; and Mr Hume and Mr Dearlove on the violin and pianoforte. The greater part of the evening was given up to an address by the President and a lecture by him on "Emotional Expression," which was profusely illustrated with photographs displayed by means of the lime-light lantern, under the direction of Dr Maxwell Ross.

Dr Chinnock, secretary of the Society, apologised for the absence of Mr Thomas M'Kie and Mr W. J. Maxwell, M.P., two of the vice-presidents; and stated that he had the very pleasing duty of introducing their distinguished president, Sir James Crichton-Browne. (Cheers.)

Sir James Crichton-Browne, who was cordially cheered, said: Ladies and gentlemen, I am afraid before the evening is ended you will have heard more than enough of the sound of my voice. I shall, therefore, as briefly as possible, discharge the first duty assigned to me by the Council of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, and in their name bid you welcome to this conversazione. (Cheers.) And in discharging that duty, I would embrace the opportunity it affords

me of thanking the members of that Society who may be here present for the honour they have done me in placing me in the presidential chair—an honour which I am sure I owe to their kindness and generosity, and not to any services which I have myself rendered to the Society. The fact that I am the only Fellow of the Royal Society of London at the present time connected with the south of Scotland perhaps suggested my selection for the office. But, however that may be, I do assure you that I regard it as a great honour to occupy a position for a time of which the first occupant was that distinguished ornithologist, the late Sir William Jardine of Applegirth—(cheers)—a position which has been filled since his time by a succession of able and worthy men, each having some special claim to local recognition. I regard it as a great honour to preside even for a short season over a Society that during the last thirty years has held aloft the lamp of scientific culture and antiquarian research in this town and district. I am told that it was on the 20th of November, 1862—just thirty-two years ago—that the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society was called into existence, chiefly owing to the initiative of the late Dr James Gilchrist, one of the most genial and accomplished and loveable men whom I have ever met, and who, had he been able to devote himself to pure science, would certainly have attained to the highest eminence. (Cheers.) Dr Gilchrist drew around him a coterie of kindred spirits, believers like himself in the advantages of scientific culture—men like Mr Aird, Mr M'Dowall, Mr Gibson, the Rev. Mr Goold, Dr Dickson, Dr Grierson, of Thornhill—and it was by these men, banded together into a preliminary committee, that this Society was launched and started on that voyage which it has since very prosperously pursued, which I hope it will long continue to pursue, and upon which I am sure we shall all wish it God-speed. (Cheers.) I should weary you were I to attempt to rehearse the excellent work that has been done by this Society since the first paper was read—a paper on the *Scutellaria Minor* by that veteran botanist, the Rev. Mr Fraser, of Colvend. (Cheers.) Indeed, it is not needful that I should attempt any such rehearsal, for the work of the Society is chronicled in a form that is accessible to all of you in the admirable Transactions published from time to time. I will only say of these Transactions that while, of course, they vary in merit from paper to paper and

from number to number, they seem to me to have generally embodied a vast amount of valuable observations. They seem to me to have been animated by the true scientific spirit, a genuine earnest love of truth; and they seem to me to have maintained a high standard of scientific excellence. These Transactions, at anyrate, have rescued from sheer oblivion and neglectfulness many interesting memorials of our ancestors in these parts; they have supplied us with trustworthy charts of the distribution of animal and vegetable life in the south-west of Scotland; and they have preserved accurate records of many interesting and important natural phenomena. I am quite sure the Transactions of this Society will bear favourable comparison with the Transactions of any similar Society in any part of the country. I trust that the publication of these Transactions will be long continued, and that they will continue to mirror for us such traces of life in the past as may be still discernible or discoverable; that they will continue to reflect light on some of the dark corners of the mineral and vegetable world around us. The past is an ever-increasing quantity, and its landmarks and characteristics are perpetually crumbling away. So there is room for any number of students to employ themselves in accurately noting facts relating to the past—the immediate or the remote past—those facts which are the raw materials of history. On the other hand, the field of science is an ever-widening area, and there is a growing demand for labourers and for investigators to explore the confines of science. The work of a society like this is not exhausted when complete collections have been made, when all the species in a district have been discovered and classified. On the contrary, that work is only introductory to the more important investigation into their life habits—into the action of living organisms, and the effect produced on them by their environment, investigation which cannot fail to have important practical results. The splendid development which has taken place quite recently in bactereology—in that branch of science which is concerned with the very lowest forms of animal life, which has almost certainly given us a cure for diphtheria, which has certainly given us a remedy for tetanus (lock-jaw)—that splendid development is an illustration of the lines on which scientific investigation is now advancing; lines which it is not beyond the members of a Society such as this to some extent to pursue. I feel confident that this Dumfries Society has an important part

to play in the future; that it has a mission to perform. Science is coming more and more to the front every day. Not long ago it was a sort of Cinderella in the household of learning, a despised drudge, looked down upon by its haughty sisters, Literature and Philosophy. But recently science has possessed herself of her little glass slipper, and she has risen to honour. (Cheers.) And I take it that science will daily increase its dominion over us; that it will minister more and more, in ways that can scarcely yet be surmised, to the comfort, well-being, and convenience of our daily lives. (Cheers.) Only on Friday last I saw handed round, at a meeting in London, bickers full of a pale blue fluid bubbling furiously; and that fluid was composed of the atmosphere we breathe, which had been condensed and liquified. I saw plunged into that fluid bunches of flowers, feathers, and other substances; and when withdrawn they were emitting light. They brilliantly illuminated the room by their phosphorescence. I was privileged there to see the demonstration of the latest discovery of science. The discovery was made by a typical Scotsman, Professor Dewar, and carried through in the laboratory of the Royal Institution. But, it may be asked, what is the good of this liquid air? And it must be admitted that we don't at present recognise its utility. But had the same question been asked about electricity when it was first discovered, or about liquid carbonic acid a few years ago, an answer exactly the same must have been returned. We must have a deep and earnest faith that all knowledge is power; that every scientific discovery, no matter how minute or trivial—whether made in the laboratory of the Royal Institution in London or by a member of this Society—will be woven into the warp and woof of scientific knowledge and have its important place. As science is advancing very much, it seems to me more and more important that all educated men and women should possess a knowledge of it—should acquaint themselves with the scientific method and have a knowledge of some branch of science. Therefore it seems to me important that thoughtful and educated people, who do not live in university towns or in great cities, where opportunities for study abound, should have opportunities for scientific study and intercourse for increasing their knowledge of advancing science; facilities which are to some extent provided by the society, under whose auspices we are met this evening. I do believe that in the future this Dumfries Society will greatly

extend its uses. I look forward to the time when it will have a well stored library, a well filled museum, and above all a well qualified curator. (Cheers.) The Society is really an educational institution, carrying on to some extent the work of university extension in this town. It supplies an intellectual stimulus. I think it must supply a bond of union among its members, and tend to break down those narrow, artificial, but still rigid barriers which are apt to spring up in provincial towns. I am told it supplies glimpses of rural pleasure in its summer excursions ; and it is seeking to supply social enjoyment in such a meeting as this. (Cheers.)

Sir James proceeded to deliver a very able lecture on "Emotional Expression." Noticing Darwin's theory on the subject, he remarked that although the facts observed by Darwin himself or selected by him with great discrimination were always of the greatest value, he thought the laws propounded by him were now open to review. With regard to the principle of antithesis, according to which certain movements were expressive of certain emotions because they were the opposite of movements expressive of opposite emotions, he had had doubt even when working with Darwin. Among other reasons for scepticism he observed that such sharply opposite emotions as grief and joy were expressed by weeping and laughter; but that these modes of expression were not opposed might be seen by a simple experiment. In Darwin's book you had an illustration of a baby crying, but by placing another picture over it and retaining the face the squalling baby was converted into a fat and bald old gentleman laughing consumedly. (Laughter.) This was explained by the association in the mind of squalling with babies and laughter with fat old gentlemen. The lecturer went on to refer to the great discovery of the localisation of functional activity in the brain, and the perfection of knowledge on the subject obtained by experiment chiefly on the brains of monkeys, by the electrical excitement of certain areas. He mentioned in this connection that in one of those beneficent operations, which a few years ago would have been considered impossible, he had seen Mr Victor Horsley touch particular parts of a human brain, causing movement in certain parts of the body, and remove a tumour from the brain, and thus cure the patient of epileptic fits. The central portion of the brain, where were localised the movements of the face, controlled the nervous system, to which Darwin gave a

subsidiary, but to which he would give the first place, in the study of emotional expression. A most interesting, and at the same time entertaining, series of photographs were here introduced to illustrate first facial changes expressive of different emotions, and secondly hand movements in association with those of the face. They were portraits of three young lady friends of the lecturer, who had, at his request, endeavoured to place themselves under the desired emotions, and had then been instantaneously photographed. A typically perfect face was also thrown on the screen, leading the lecturer to observe that George Herbert was wrong when he said that man was all symmetry; it was woman to whom the remark applied. (Laughter and cheers.) In concluding, Sir James observed that evolution was still going on, and the faces of men and women were altering, and he hoped altering for the better, every day. The emotions were less violently expressed. The beauty of form of Greek statues might be unsurpassable; but the faces of the men and women to-day were far more interesting than those of classic times. The Roman lady required a lachrymarium or saucer to catch her tears; but our wives and daughters were content with a very small pocket handkerchief. (Laughter.) The faces painted by the old masters were, he ventured to suggest, on the whole somewhat insipid when contrasted with those that we saw on the walls of the Academy to-day. Our ancestors gave vent to their feelings in a way that we would be ashamed of, and their range of feeling seemed to have been in some degree more limited. (Cheers.) The language of the countenance, like that of the tongue, had been enriched in the process of the suns. (Cheers.)

A vote of thanks was awarded to Sir James, on the motion of Mr J. G. H. Starke, vice-president.

8*th February*, 1895.

Rev. William Andson, V.P., in the Chair.

New Members.—The Earl of Stair, and Mr Thomas E. Walker of Dalswinton.

Donations.—Insecta (Zoological Record, vol. xxx.) by Dr D. Sharp of Cambridge; the Transactions of the Glasgow Archæological Society, 1894; a Scotch half boddle found at

Lauriston, Liddesdale, presented by Mr J. Barbour, who also presented from Mr Dinwiddie of Kirkmahoe an old coin found there.

Exhibits.—Mr Andson exhibited some old coins belonging to Miss M'Cracken.

Communications.

1. *The Standing Stones of the Stewartry.*

By Mr Frederick R. Coles, Corr. Mem. Soc. Ant. Scot.

To make an intelligent record of the Standing Stones of any district we must naturally begin by dividing all the known stones into typical groups. It will be found that four strongly-marked groups comprise the specimens to be treated of in the present paper—1st Group, Boulders; 2nd Group, Unsculptured Slabs; 3rd Group, Sculptured Stones; 4th Group, Holed Stones. On investigation we shall notice points of interest attaching in varying degree to all these different types.

1st Group—Boulders.

1. Close to Glenlochar road turn on Barncrosh, Tongland, stands a great stone at the height of 150 feet above sea level. It is a rude rounded mass of whinstone, measuring 5 feet 3 inches by 4 feet. It may possibly commemorate the *Battle of Druim Beate* (*circa* 1340).

2. *Teepuck Stone.*—Such is the name on the O.M. given to a huge pyramidal block of granite, 12 feet high by 8 broad, on a ridge of granite-strewn hillside above the keeper's house at Marbroy, Colvend. Even in the midst of the myriads of blocks all around this great stone is conspicuous, and the fact of its bearing so peculiar a name (cf. Irish Gaelic, *Cheepock*, once in common use in Galloway) is certainly remarkable.

3. *Bruce's Stone*, Moss Raploch, in Kells parish, at 600 feet above sea level. It is said that against this stone the Bruce rested after the battle at Craigencallie in 1307-8. I am aware that near Blackerne, and on the march between Buittle and Crossmichael, there is a so-called standing stone—an insignificant block of whin—but in spite of its having been preserved *in situ* by the late Rev. Mr Grant, of Buittle, it is doubtful if this stone be anything more than a march stone.

2ND GROUP—UNSCULPTURED SLABS.

1. At *Dalarran Holm*—A conspicuous object on the left as the visitor drives from the Royal Burgh of New-Galloway to Dalry. Its position is 150 feet above sea level. It is a natural slab, rudely four-square, and was probably brought from the Mulloch hill, where the rock splits up into this form of long, narrow slabs. It is 8 feet above ground, and its sides are about 2 feet to 2 feet 6 inches wide. It is supposed to commemorate a battle between Danes and Scots.

2, 3, and 4 are all on the farm of *Red Castle*, in Urr parish. Chalmers, in "Caledonia," says the tallest was "rising 14 feet from the ground;" but unless some very extraordinary changes in the surface have occurred, that must be a misstatement, since, although this stone is the tallest I have measured in the Stewartry, it is only 9 feet high. Two of its sides are 2 feet 6 inches wide, and the others 2 feet 3 inches. It is granite, and on the east side there is a deep natural fissure so remarkably like an incised cross as to be deceptive at the distance of a few yards. This stone is not in view of the other two, one of which is in view of the celebrated Mote of Urr. They are comparatively small, being but some five feet high.

5. This is a set of four long, narrow, squarish slabs, known in Anwoth as the Standing Stones of Newton, and really the grave-posts of a huge prehistoric interment, which, I think, has never been opened.

6. *Standing Stone of Bagbie*—In the parish of Kirkmabreck, adjoining the last. It is 500 feet above sea level, and stands in a bare, lonely field a little way south of the old Kirkyard of Kirkmabreck. It is five feet high, and in thickness 3 feet 4 inches by 10 inches. There are traces of other stones, some prostrate, within a few dozen yards, which lead one to surmise this may have been once a stone circle.

7 and 8. On *Dranandow Moor*, Minnigaff. I have not seen these stones, but in Mackenzie's "History of Galloway" they are stated to be about 8 feet high, and were supposed to mark the place of execution of assassins who killed Randolph (Regent of David Bruce) in 1330. The stones are popularly called *The Thieves*.

9. On the farm of *Standing Stone*, Borgue. When I saw it, it was not in its original site, having fallen when the late Mrs Gordon of Conchieton (who was proprietrix also of Standing

Stone) left Galloway. It is a thin friable slab of whinstone 7 feet 2 inches long, and is now prostrate.

3rd Group—Sculptured Stones.

This group obviously presents more interesting features to the antiquary, and in this half of Galloway did in the past contain more numerous examples than any other. Some of these, however, have been lost, or, at anyrate, lost sight of.

1. The first example is in this category—*The Penny Stane*, on Cambret Muir, Kirkmabreck. The "New Statistical Account" says :—"This stone hath upon it the resemblance of that draught which is commonly called 'the walls of Troy.'" M'Kenzie in his "History" quotes this without comment. But the stone is not now extant.

2 and 3 were once close to the great cairn of *Stroanfreggan*, in Carsphairn. The "New Statistical Account" says they were shaped "like human figures." These, too, have vanished.

4 and 5 (at *High Auchenlarie*) are two very interesting stones. Formerly they stood at a height of 475 feet above sea level, on the farm of High Auchenlarie, in Anwoth. One seems to have been in connection with a stone circle there; the other stood some 200 yards or so to the west. About thirty years ago they were both removed to the garden at Cardoness, where they may still be seen. They are figured in pl. 122 of Stuart's great work on "The Sculptured Stones of Scotland." The nature of their incised sculpturing may be seen from the accompanying drawing. (See pl. I., figs. 1 and 2.) They stood about five feet above ground.

6. We now come to an important and striking example. Its present site is on the east rampart of *Caerclach Mote*, Anwoth. It is a thin broad slab off the rocks on the near hills, and bears a double sculpturing. On its upper face—exposed, we are sorry to add, to all the wind of a stormy cliff, and to the rain droppings from the firs so thickly planted here—is the elaborately carved cross shown in pl. I., fig. 3; and on its under side a very archaic cross, picked out with some sharp-pointed tool in the same manner that the cup and ring marks are made. This stone is shown also in Stuart's work, pl. 123, vol. I.

7. At *Holm of Dalfallochan*, the stone with the incised cross here shown (pl. II., fig 1) was found apparently, if report be true, amongst the stones of a cairn. Along with another, also

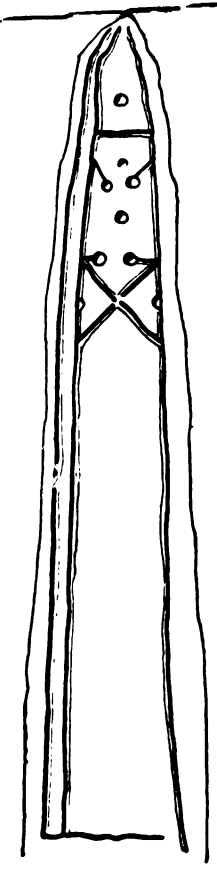


Fig. I.

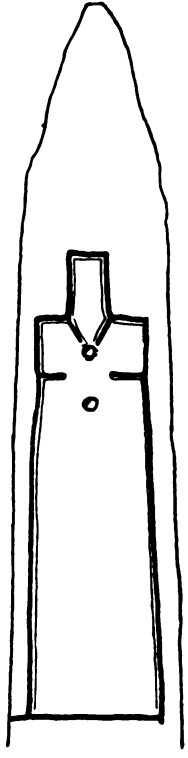


Fig. II.

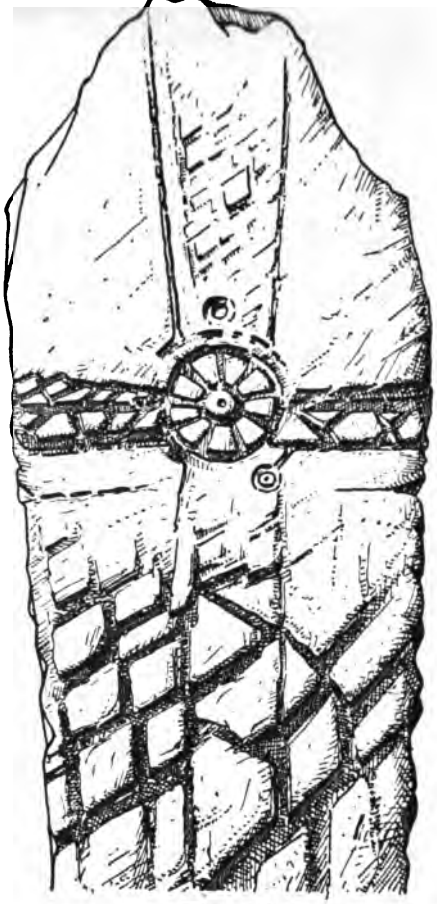


Fig. III.

PLATE I.

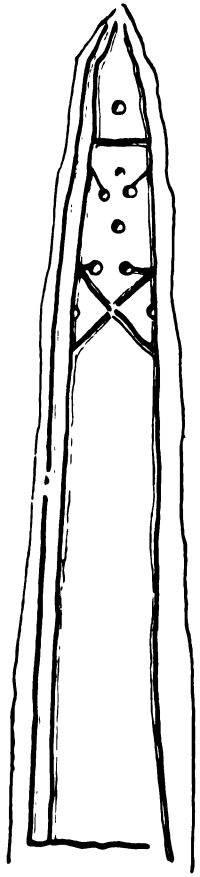


Fig. I.

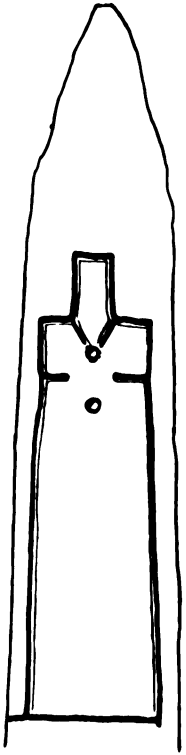


Fig. II

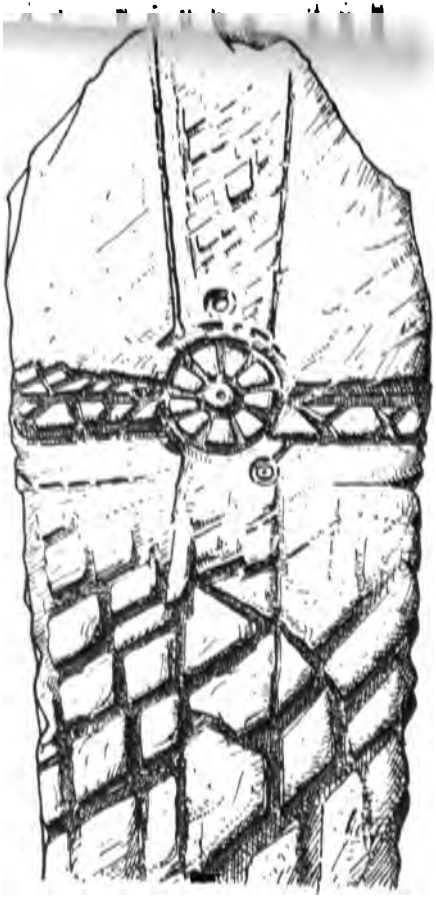
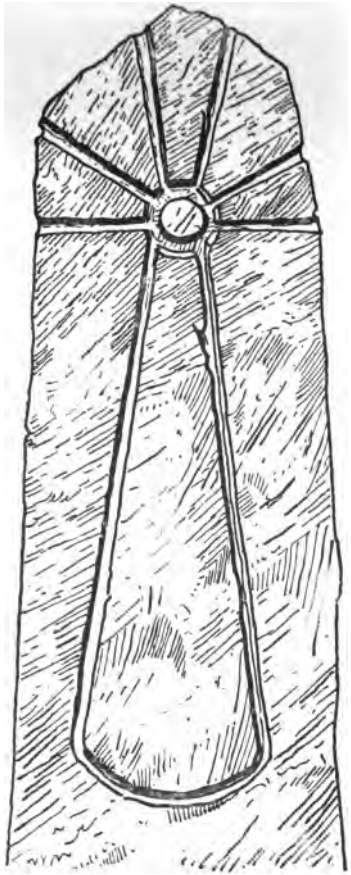


Fig. III.

PLATE I



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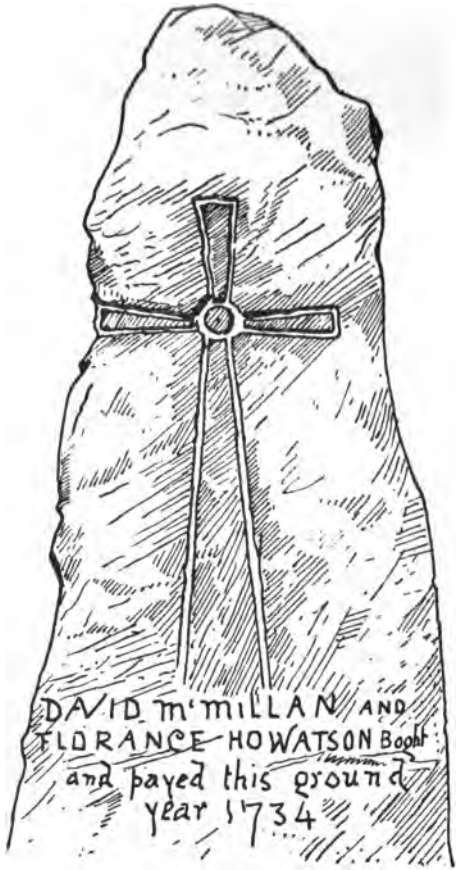

Fig. II.

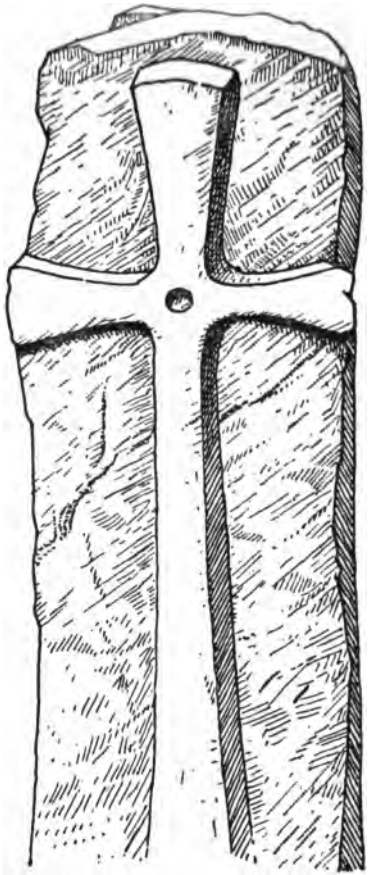

Fig. III.

PLATE II.

PLATE III.

sculptured, it was laid up against a dyke—this was some fifty years ago—and though this happened to be preserved, the other was used as the cover stone of a pen. This stone is now set up close to the farm house of Garryhorn, where it was placed many years ago by the present tenant (Mr Somerville's) father. The cross measures 2 feet 6 inches by 12 inches, and is 5 inches wide at the base.

8. At Auchenshinnoch, Dalry, is the stone with rudely-incised cross shown in pl. II., fig. 2. Mr Bruce, late of Slogarie, tells me it was recently removed to near the dwelling-house from a former station 200 or 300 yards away on the top of a knowe to the east, and near an old road. The inscription, which reads—DAVID MACMILLAN & FLORANCE HOWATSON BOGHT & PAYED this ground, year 1734—is much more modern of course than the cross, which is very like the Garryhorn one.

9. At the lodge of Dalshangan, Carsphairn, may now be seen a stone bearing the cross in relief shown in pl. II., fig. 3. The history of this fine specimen is not without an interest of its own. It is believed, on fairly good authority, to have once stood on a heather-clad spot near Carsphairn village, called *The Cumnock Knowes*. At a point there, at anyrate, the Ordnance Map shows a Standing Stone; and in searching for its probable site, with the utmost care and bearing by compass, Mr Bruce and I found a somewhat suspicious looking mound. However this may be, the stone was really removed from some wild spot, and deposited where it now is by Dr Alexander Trotter, the proprietor of Dalshangan. The stone is a thick squarish block of porphyry, 2 feet high. The arms of the cross, which project in pretty high relief, measure 5 inches each, and at their junction is a small circular hole.

10. In the precincts of the ruined old Church of Minnigaff there now stands a richly-carved stone, which by reason of its history no less than its carvings, is probably unique among our stones. Some fifteen years ago, when the house known as *The Old Market-house** of Minnigaff was demolished, the workmen brought to light, while loosening one of the windows, a stone which was serving as a lintel, and that stone bears on its three sculptured sides certain remarkable designs and effigies. (See pl. III.) It was after some time removed to its present resting-

* The site is now marked by a large whinstone slab, on the top of which there is scratched an archaic sun-dial.

place in the old Churchyard, where, in the course of time, its fine incised work will become gradually but assuredly undecipherable. The stone is a rudely trimmed rectangular block of porphyry (?), standing 2 feet 10½ inches above ground, and measuring 8½ inches at the base, and 8, 6, and 3½ inches at the top. The design is remarkably fine, having a bird, Celtic cross, pattée, and two panels of Celtic ornament below—this side now faces the west; a very vague and much spoilt design is on the east side; while that facing south bears a design having resemblance to a female figure, and the north face is unsculptured. The edge of the north-east side seems to bear some ornament also, but much disfigured through exposure. Taken altogether, this small but beautifully-carved monolith is certainly one of our most precious relics of the Celtic sculptured stones, if, indeed, it be not absolutely unique; and it is worthy of a much safer abode than the open and damp precincts of the little kirkyard where it happens at present to be deposited.

4TH GROUP—HOLED STONES.

1. Of this type, I have as yet been able to note but one. Its site is interesting, far away among the hills beyond Loch Urr, and close to a remarkable structure called Lochrinnie Mote. The stone occupies the crown of a somewhat pyramidal hill about 300 yards west of the Mote, and much higher. It is a thin, broad slab of hard blue whinstone, and stands 3 feet 2 inches above ground, 2 feet 6 inches wide and 6 inches thick. It is placed not precisely east and west (breadthways), but so as to allow the hole to be exactly north and south, the hole having been drilled rather obliquely. The hole is about four inches in diameter, and has been, to judge only from its present mutilated condition, nearly circular. Around *The Holed Stone*, and at radii differing from 45 to 120 feet, are several stones, some fairly prominent, others prostrate. These are 10 in number, and between the two on the north-west arc is a small heap of stones. The circumference is 585 feet.

In *Lands and their Owners*, Mr M'Kerlie mentions two standing stones south-east of Lochrutton Kirk; but, after a personal examination of the probable locality and due inquiries from persons likely to know, I have not been able to obtain any information about these. The Ordnance Map 6-inch scale also shows a *Machermore Stone* in Kirkmabreck on the bank of the

Carrouch Burn, at an altitude of 950 feet above sea level, near Craigherron, but I have not seen it. We may conclude, therefore, that the three-and-twenty standing stones of which there are more or less authentic accounts, and sixteen of which I have myself seen and measured, form the total for this county, now available as a remnant of its standing stones.

2. *Meteorology of Dumfries in 1894.*

By the Rev. William Anderson.

Lat. 55° 4' N. Long. 3° 36' W. Elevation above sea level, 60 feet.

Months.	Barometer.				Self-Registering Thermometer in Shade.						Rainfall.			Hygrometer.			
	Highest in Month.	Lowest in Month.	Range.	Mean for Month.	Highest in Month.	Lowest in Month.	Range.	Mean Maximum.	Mean Minimum.	Mean of Temp. of Month.	Heaviest in 24 hours.	Total Amount.	Days on which it fell.	Mean Dry.	Mean Wet.	Temperature of Dew-point.	Relative Humidity. (Sat=100.)
	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	In.	In.		Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	
Jan.	30·697	29·046	1·651	29·682	49·6	7·0	42·6	42·2	32·2	37·2	0·53	4·97	24	39·6	38·3	36·8	90
Feb.	30·475	28·587	1·888	29·821	52·8	24	28·8	45·7	35·3	40·5	1·30	8·15	24	39·7	38·5	37	91
Mar.	30·517	28·905	1·612	29·857	67·5	27·4	40·1	53·9	34·8	44·3	0·43	1·73	12	42·4	40·2	37·4	83
April	30·377	29·365	1·012	29·870	69·2	32	37·4	58·4	40·3	49 3	0·36	2·00	19	47·6	45	42·1	82
May	30·496	29·493	1·003	29·952	67·5	29·7	37·8	56·5	39·5	47·9	1·08	3·92	21	47	44·3	41·5	81
June	30·489	29·650	0·839	29·996	85	35·5	49·5	64·4	47	55·7	0·75	3·13	17	55·4	51·8	48·3	77
July	30·374	29·420	0·954	29·854	82	41	41	69·6	52·1	60·4	0·71	2·62	16	60	56	52·5	76
Aug.	30·281	29·222	1·059	29·853	70	39	31	64·3	48·9	56·3	1·34	2·94	18	55·6	53·2	51	83
Sept.	30·570	29·874	0·696	30·234	72	31·6	40·4	63	43·1	53	0·15	0·18	4	51·7	48·8	45·9	79
Oct.	30·533	28·596	1·937	29·887	65	21·8	43·2	54·2	38·6	46·4	0·97	3·64	14	44·8	43·3	41·6	88
Nov.	30·526	28·846	1·680	29·830	57·5	29·8	27·7	50·7	40·2	45	0·82	4·70	20	44·9	43·6	41·9	90
Dec.	30·623	28·590	2·033	29·903	53·5	22·5	31	44·8	34·8	39·8	1·09	4·03	19	38·8	37·8	36·5	91
Year	30·697	28·587	2·110	29·895	85	7	78	55·6	40 5	48	1·34	42·01	208	43·7	45	42·2	84

Directions of the Wind during the year.

N.	N.E.	E.	S.E.	S.	S.W.	W.	N.W.	Var. or Calm.
19	39½	47	24½	47	70½	61	37½	17½

Barometer.—The highest reading occurred on the 3rd day of January, when it rose to 30·697 in., and the lowest on 11th of February, when it fell to 28·587 in., giving an annual range of 2·110 in. There is reason to believe, however, that a considerably lower fall than that of the 11th February took place on the night of the 21st or morning of the 22nd December, the period of the recent severe storm, when so much damage was done both by sea and land. The reading of the barometer at 9 A.M. of the 22nd was 28·590 in., a fraction higher than that of the 11th February. But before that hour it had began to rise, and the deepest part of the depression in all probability passed over this district in the early morning, perhaps between 2 and 4 or 3 and 5 A.M. This may certainly be inferred from the fact that in other places where barometer readings were taken every hour during the progress of the storm decidedly lower readings were registered. At Leith, for example, where this was done, the barometer fell to 28·119 in. between 6 and 6.30 A.M., and by 9 A.M. it had risen to 28·384 in. As the movement of the cyclone was from S.S.W. to N.N.E., the centre of the depression must have passed over Dumfries at an earlier hour than 6 A.M., most probably between 2 and 4 A.M., and there is no reasonable doubt would have shown, if registered, an equally low reading with that at Leith. The fluctuations of that period were extraordinary, and are believed to have been almost unprecedented for the rapidity both of fall and rise. At 9 A.M. of the 21st the reading of the barometer was 29·905 in., by 9 P.M. it had fallen to 29·383 in.; and if our inference is correct, that by 4 A.M. of the 22nd it had gone down to about 28·20 in., this would have shown a fall of 1·7 in. in 19 hours; but it rose again with almost equal rapidity. During the twelve hours from 9 A.M. to 9 P.M. of the 22nd the rise was from 28·590 in. to 29·810 in., and by the morning of the 23rd it had risen to 30 in. On the 28th and 29th December there was a somewhat similar storm, with a rapid fall and rise of the barometer, but of considerably less intensity, although severe enough to do a good deal of damage. The fall on that occasion was from 30·189 in. on the morning of the 28th to 29·033 on that of the 29th—a fall of 1·156 in. in 24 hours. It may be observed also that the February cyclone was accompanied by very strong squalls and extremely heavy rainfall. The depth of the river Nith at the New Bridge, as shown by the gauge, was 10 feet, and a good many trees and chimney cans were blown down. On

the 25th October and the 14th November, as well as in February and December, the barometer fell considerably below 29 in., and on these occasions the weather, as is usual in such circumstances, was stormy and wet. The mean pressure for the year (reduced to 32 deg. and sea level) was 29·895 in., which is a little below the average of the last eight years—viz., 29·923 in. There was only one month in which the mean pressure exeeeded 30 in., viz., September, with a record of 30·234 in; and it will be remembered how remarkable that month was for dryness and almost unbroken fine weather.

Temperature (in shade, four feet above the grass).—On the 30th of June the self-registering thermometer reached its highest point for the year, viz., 85 deg., illustrating what has been often observed before, that the highest single day temperatures frequently occur near the time of the summer solstice. The lowest was recorded on the 7th January, when it fell to 7 deg. in the screen and to 1 deg. on the grass, giving an annual range of 78 deg. There were three nights of very severe frost at the period mentioned, from the 6th to the 8th January, when the minimum readings ranged from 7 to 13 deg., with the result of numerous ruptures of water-pipes and the freezing over of the river Nith. The mean annual temperature was 48 deg., which is about half a degree above the average of the last eight years. The annual means during these years have ranged from 46 deg. in 1892 to 49·4 deg. in 1893, and on only two of these years, 1889 and 1893, has the annual temperature exceeded that of 1894, and in 1889 only by one-tenth of a degree. The warmest month of the year was July, with a mean of 60·4 deg.; and the coldest January, with a mean of 37·2 deg. There were six months in which the mean temperature exceeded the average of the last eight years, viz., February, March, April, October, November, and December; the excesses ranging from 0·4 deg. in October to 3·6 deg. in March and April. In November and December the excesses were about 2 deg. In the other months there was a deficiency, which was greatest in May, June, and August; but while the aggregate excesses amounted to 15 deg., the aggregate deficiences amounted only to 9 deg. There was a fair proportion of warm days, with a maximum temperature ranging from 70 deg. to 85 deg. There were twenty-one in all, six of which occurred in the latter part of June, ten in July, only one in August, and four in September. This strikingly contrasts with the previous year,

1893, in which the number was sixty-one. The number of days in which the thermometer fell to and below the freezing point was 48, with aggregate degrees of frost amounting to 206 deg., 100 deg. of which occurred in January and 40 deg. in December, as compared with an average of 80 days, and 400 deg. of frost. On the whole the year was favourable to vegetation, for although the month of May and the greater part of June were cold and wet, those of March and April were considerably above average in point of temperature, and were characterised at the same time by an ample supply of moisture, while July was warm, and the autumn months were more than usually mild.

Rainfall.—The heaviest rainfall of the year occurred on the 2nd of August, when 1·34 in. was registered. But there were other three days in which the amount exceeded 1 in., viz., on the 16th February, when it was 1·30 in.; the 14th May, when it was 1·08 in.; and the 21st December, when it was 1·09 in. The rainiest month of the year was February, with a record of 8·15 in., with 24 days on which it fell. The mean amount for that month, calculated on an average of eight years, is 2·44 in., so that the record for 1894 is quite abnormal, being from three to four times above the average. In January, May, June, and November the rainfall was also considerably above the average. In January there were 24 days on which it fell, with an excess of an inch-and-a-half; on May 21, with an excess of 1 in.; and on June 17, with an excess of 1·20 in. On the other hand, the rainfall of July, August, September, and October was under average. The driest month was September, when 0·18 in., less than two-tenths of an inch, was registered, in contrast with an average of nearly 3 in. (2·85 in.). There was a marked period of drought indeed, extending from the 22nd August to the 22nd October, fully eight weeks, during which the rainfall amounted to no more than 0·58 in, as compared with an average of over 7 in. Notwithstanding this, however, the total rainfall of the year was considerably above the average of the last eight years, 42·01 in., as compared with an average of about 37 in.—that is, about 5 in. above average. The difference is nearly accounted for by the extraordinary excess in February. The number of days on which it fell (rain or snow) was 206, rather above the average; but on 33 of these the fall did not exceed one hundreth of an inch. There was very little snow during the year, not half as

much as we have already had this year—during January and the first week of February.

Hygrometer.—The annual mean of the dry bulb thermometer was 47·3 deg., and of the wet bulb 45 deg.; giving 42·2 deg. as the temperature of the dew point, and a relative humidity of 84—saturation being equal to 100. This differs little from previous years; the average difference between the annual means of dry and wet bulb being 2·3 deg., the same as during the past year, and the average relative humidity 83—although in 1893, the year of highest mean annual temperature, it fell to 82.

Thunderstorms, &c.—These have not been of frequent occurrence during the year. There was one in February, one in April, three in May, two in July, and two in August—in all nine. On some of these occasions, however, they were distant, and there was either thunder without lightning or lightning without thunder. The most severe storm of the year was that of the 6th July, which began about 5 P.M. and continued till 7.30, with loud thunder peals and incessant flashes of lightning. The maximum temperature of that day was 78·8 deg., and the wind was south in the morning, and backed in the course of the day to E.S.E. The storm was accompanied by a rainfall of 0·71 in. There was a repetition on the 8th of electrical disturbance, but on a much diminished scale. I have noted the occurrence of hail showers eleven times, four of which occurred in May and three in November; lunar halos, twice in February and twice in August; and solar halos, twice, once in March and once in May. There were probably more of these latter phenomena in the course of the year, but I did not observe them.

Wind.—The summary of wind directions shews that on 19 days it blew from due north, on 39½ days from N.-E., on 47 days from the E., on 24½ from S.-E., on 70½ from S.-W., on 61 from W., on 37½ from N.-W., and that on 17½ it was variable or calm. As usual, the S.-W. wind was the most frequent, and taking the S., S.E., and W. along with it, it appears that 203 days out of the 365 were characterised by winds from these directions, and that the northerly and easterly, including the north-west, had 143 days. Comparing this with the wind record of 1893, it appears that there was a preponderance of southerly and westerly winds in 1893, as contrasted with 1894. There were 20 days more wind from the S. and W., and 12 days less from the N. and E. The effect of this upon temperature is evident from the fact that

the mean annual temperature of 1893 exceeds that of 1894 by nearly a degree and a half—49·4° as compared with 48°.

THE COUNTY MEDICAL OFFICER ON THE WEATHER AND HEALTH.

Dr Maxwell Ross moved a vote of thanks to Mr Andson. They were all indebted to Mr Andson for these papers, which he gave from year to year, and speaking for himself there was no paper he enjoyed more. The reason for that was partly a professional one, for as was known to the fathers of medicine certain diseases were remarkably subject to weather influence. For example, he thought it was very well established that, in the case of respiratory diseases, when they had a winter with a high temperature the mortality was small, and when they had a winter with a low temperature the mortality was greater. Then, taking diarrhœa, when they had a high temperature in summer the deaths from this cause would be increased. Again, in relation to diphtheria, there were some curious points to be made out. The influence of subsoil water, which to a large extent depended on the rainfall, seemed to be great upon diphtheria. In 1893, when the rainfall was high, they found diphtheria very prevalent on the Solway shore. Last year, when it was low and the people rejoicing in a dry season, their condition was expressed by one who remarked "We all feel very fit." They were very much indebted to Mr Andson for his valuable paper. (Applause.)

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2. *A Famous Old Battlefield.*

By Mr ALEXANDER D. MURRAY, Newcastle.

Twenty-five years ago, when I had the honour to be secretary of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History Society, the late Sir William Jardine being our president, a joint-meeting was held of the Society with the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club in Liddesdale, which might be considered neutral ground between the two Societies. Part of the programme was to visit Dawston Rigg, the reputed site of the battle of Daegsastan, recorded by the venerable Bede in his "Ecclesiastical History" and in the "Saxon Chronicle." We were unable on that occasion to fulfil this part of the programme, and not until recently did I have the opportunity, along with the veteran secretary of the Berwickshire Naturalists, Dr James Hardy, and other friends, to spend

a day on this distinctly interesting spot. It occurred to me that it might be a matter of some interest if I should communicate to this Society a few notes regarding this site, which, possibly, if not too distant from your sphere of action, you may yet some day visit in your summer excursions. Dawston Rigg is a low rounded hill, situated at the very head of Liddesdale, or rather in the water-shed that divides the source of the Liddle from that of the North Tyne. It is overlooked by the great mass of Peel Fell, the uttermost hump of the Cheviot range, and itself overlooks the depression through which the railway passes from Deadwater to Saughtrees. The highroad that crosses from Liddesdale into the valleys of the Rule, the Jed, and the Teviot passes the base of the hill on the north; and, as I have said, the railway skirts it on the other or southern side. It is a wild pastoral district, but very pleasant on a summer day, such as that on which I visited the spot. As a locality, related to the early topography of this island, it obviously possesses interest, from the fact that here the Catrail or Pict's Work, which crosses the Scottish Lowlands, originating about the base of the Pentland Hills, and following the great water-shed between west and east, to all appearance terminates. It can be very distinctly traced as far as this spot, and can visibly be seen dipping towards the Cauldron Burn, which runs along the eastern base of Dawston Rigg, as if it were making towards Peel Fell. But it can be traced no further. Now, just over this ravine of the Cauldron Burn, on a rising ground known as Wheel Fell, the well-known Roman road, the Maiden Way, coming over the head of the North Tyne valley, crosses the hill barrier. From its local name of the Wheel Causeway the hill gets its name of Wheel Fell, and on its summit are still visible some slight ruins of a small ecclesiastical structure, known as Wheel Chapel, which was originally dependent on Jedburgh Abbey. These are not the only mediæval remains, for a stone cross, which, in a dilapidated condition, once stood on Dawston Rigg, has recently been removed, and, I believe, is in the Hawick Antiquarian Museum. When we remember that these Roman roads were in early times the only safely traversible roads in the country, we are not surprised to find these traces of ecclesiastical buildings and erections along their course. And it is certain that this has always been regarded as an interesting locality, the halo of tradition surrounding it, mainly, no doubt, in consequence of its connection with events recorded by Bede. The

name, Abbey Sike, attaches to a spot on the high road, just where it skirts Dawston Rigg; and there is a tradition that a religious house once stood there, and that crosses and other stones have been dug up on the spot and taken away, but I could not gain any definite information on the subject. However, what it is very important to note is the fact that this mysterious Catrail work is seen crossing the flank of the hill, dipping towards the ravine, and making its way towards the Roman road; and that here, to all appearance, it ends its course—a course extending all along the backbone of the Lowlands, from the Pentlands to the westernmost outposts of the Cheviots.

Without entering upon the vexed and difficult question as to the date, origin, and purpose of this Picts' Work, I may say that it appears to me to have been almost convincingly demonstrated that it never was or could have been intended as a wall or barrier, and that it must have been a protected way—a road traversing a rough and dangerous country, and defended by a ditch and a turf and earth wall, formed by the material dug from the ditch, which might possibly have been originally strengthened by stakes. Its purpose, then, almost certainly, must have been that of enabling armed forces to traverse an unfriendly country on their way to fields of battle or plunder beyond. That is to say, it may have been, and probably was, a road by which the Picts of the north, whose southern outposts were the Pentland or Pechtland Hills, crossed what once had been the border Roman province of Valentia, to reach the more desirable territory of the Romanised Britons in the south, which all early history tells us they ravaged so unmercifully after the withdrawal of the Romans. One can quite understand why the work should terminate here, after striking the Maiden Way, for that road would afterwards serve the purposes of the invaders. There is a difficulty, of course, in understanding or realising the condition of the country traversed by the Catrail, rendering so extensive and elaborate a work necessary. When we consider, however, that it would be largely filled with forest and morass, and that numerous swift-flowing rivers had to be crossed, there would be an absolute necessity for the construction of a road of some kind; and by following the water-shed, keeping, however, always well down on the eastern slope, the best route for steering clear both of bog and jungle would be taken. A manifest imitation of the Roman method of crossing the country would suggest that these

redoubtable Picts and Scots of the fifth and sixth centuries were not disorganised hordes of savages, but that they had learned a great deal from the great Empire that had so long established itself in the southern half of the island, with which they had been at constant war, and against which they had finally maintained their independence.

I have in my own mind another explanation of this famous half road, half dyke, that crosses southern Scotland, though I do not think it has been much noticed by writers on the subject. The work, I fancy, dates from the latter end of the fifth century, or even a little later—that is, after the departure of the Romans; and at that time, I believe, there are excellent grounds for stating that Saxon colonies had been established in the valleys of the Tweed and Teviot in anticipation of the more extensive invasion of the Angles both to the north and south of the wall, which took place nearly a century later. These Saxon colonies, I infer, from the allusions of the Roman writers themselves, had made a beginning of their occupation previous to the departure of the Romans from Britain, and that they sometimes were in conflict with the Picts of the north, and sometimes joined them in their attacks on the Roman defences and on the protected Britons. After the departure of the Romans, doubtless they extended their colonies as far as the dividing water-shed. I have never been able to understand the rapidity with which such districts as Dumfriesshire and West Lothian were apparently Saxonised, on the assumption that the Teutonic wave flowed out exclusively from the Anglian settlements in Northumbria. If, however, we take into account that there was an earlier Saxon occupation of the country to the north of the Cheviots, our difficulty on that point vanishes. And it seems to me also that a sufficient explanation is given of the defensive character of the military way which the northern Picts made through the Lowlands to reach the Romanised country. The Saxons were down in the valleys hewing down the forests and forming their wicks and crofts. The Picts had no wish to meddle with them, especially as they possessed little which was worth coveting. But they wanted a road across the country to get at their natural enemies, the Romans and Romanised Britons, and so they constructed their Catrail.

This is not altogether a digression, for it will render more intelligible what follows. Dawston Rigg is one of two places

which are claimed as the site of the battle of Daegsastan, fought in 603 between Edelfrid, king of the Northumbrians and the Scots, or the Scots, as allies of the Cumbrian Britons, in which the latter were signally defeated. The other claimant to be the site of the battle is Dalston, near Carlisle. I am not in a position to discuss the question which of the two sites has the better case in its favour, though I think modern antiquarians are more partial to Dawston Rigg than to the other; and, in any case, most certainly a great early battle has been fought on Dawston Rigg; whilst, as already said, a halo of tradition has always surrounded the locality. Of this battle of Daegsastan we know nothing whatever beyond what is contained in Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," and in the "Saxon Chronicle," which may very well have been borrowed on Bede's authority. The passage is as follows:—"A.D. 603 — Edelfrid, king of the Northumbrians, having vanquished the nation of the Scots, expels them from the country of the Angles. At this time Edelfrid, a most valiant king, and ambitious of glory, governed the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and ravaged the Britons more than all the great men of the Angles, inasmuch as he might be compared to Saul, once king of the Israelites, excepting only that he was ignorant of the true religion. For he conquered more victories from the Britons, either making them tributary, or expelling the inhabitants and planting Angles in their places, than any other king or tribune. To him might justly be attributed the saying of the Patriarch—'Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf; in the morning he shall devour the prey, and in the evening he shall divide the spoil.' Hereupon Aidan, king of the Scots that inhabit Britain, being concerned at this success, came against him with a numerous and brave army, but was beaten by an inferior force and put to flight, escaping with only a few of his followers, for most all his army was slain at a famous place called Daegsastan, that is Degestone. In that battle also Theobald, brother to Edelfrid, was killed, with all the forces he commanded. To this war Edelfrid put an end in the year 603 after the incarnation of our Lord, and in the eleventh of his reign, which lasted twenty-four years, and the first year of the reign of Phocas, who then governed the Roman Empire. From that time no King of the Scots durst come into Britain to make war on the Angles to this day (730)."

Bede, it will be seen from these dates, was writing a century

and a quarter after the event he was recording, and may or may not have clearly known the facts. At all events, his account is open to more interpretations than one. It is not clear whether Edelfrid's brother, Theobald, who is stated to have been killed in this war with his force, was in league with the Scots, and in rebellion against his brother; or whether he had been slain by the Scots in a previous encounter—Edelfrid himself "putting an end to the war," as Bede expresses it, by a final victory at Daegsastan. Nor does Bede say whether Aidan, the king of the Scots, had come to the assistance of the Britons, whom Edelfrid was ravaging, or whether he himself was a rival invader of the territory. We frequently find in subsequent history that the Scots of Dalriada and Galloway came to the assistance of the Strathclyde Britons, and that at last they exercised a suzerainty and protectorship over the Britons, but we never hear of their making any attempt on their own account to extend their dominions into the southern part of the island. Edelfrid, one of the immediate successors of Ida the Angle, was a famous planter of the Anglian race and colony in the country that was afterwards known as Northumbria. But the native Britons could not have been entirely driven from the Roman defences along the line of the Wall, to which we know they long clung, and which afterwards, when led by Caedwallada, they re-occupied, and for a time resumed their sway over Northumbria, terribly ravaging the Anglian community there. It is, therefore, exceedingly probable that the Britons, unable to make a stand against Edelfrid, had called in Aidan, king of the Irish Scots (who were a race of military adventurers rather than a nation in those times), and were endeavouring to hold or regain their ground in the western and northern part of the isthmus, when they were encountered and defeated at this battle. The locality is all in favour of its being the scene of such a struggle. We conceive of the northern forces making their way along the Catrail and being joined by the Romanised Britons, at its junction with the Maiden Way, ready, if they were successful, to make a descent upon the Anglian settlements down the valley of the North Tyne, where Caedwallada advanced in after times to the scene of the battle of Heavensfield. But there might, and probably would, be another reason for their concentrating at this spot. Bede calls it "a famous place," and probably, because of its being so famous, felt it unnecessary to

give any more particular description of its whereabouts. One reason for its being famous might be the number of native remains to be found in the locality, as well as the fact that it was the meeting place of the Picts' Work and the Maiden Way. On the face of the slope, looking to the south, and down upon the railway, there exist three large British camps close together. One, which lies on the shoulder of the hill, has been converted into a sheepfold, and the other two, situated close to the railway, are side by side. They are both remarkably perfect, and one in particular has been stated to be one of the most perfectly preserved examples of a British hut circle to be found in the country. They have all been inhabited camps—that is, in fact, British villages; and in the case of one it is evident that the outer rampart has been materially strengthened at a period anterior to its original construction. It is more than probable that as late as the period of this battle these hut circles would be habitable, and would form the main encampment of Aidan's army.

Right above these camps was the field of battle. The hill side bears traces of escarpments raised for defence, and is full of small stone mounds, which may have covered the burial-places of the slain warriors. Numerous arrow-heads and other implements have from time to time been picked up on the spot, most of which unfortunately have been scattered, or preserved without any particular record of where they were found. But it requires no elaborate demonstration to convince the visitor that he is certainly standing on the scene of an ancient battlefield—a battlefield of the Saxon epoch, which was in all probability one of the spots on which the great controversy between the Teutonic and the Celtic race for the possession of this island was fought out.

How it was fought out still remains, and is likely to remain, one of the obscurest passages in history. Bede has little information to give us, partly because his field of vision is limited by the beginnings of the Anglian settlement in Northumbria, which was his nation and people, and partly because even in his time the record had grown dim and undecipherable. It may amuse or inspire the antiquarian imagination to build upon the slender and not very trustworthy foundation of the Chronicle of Gildas, ornamented by the poems and legends of Cymric bards, a more or less heroic conception of the struggles of the Britons with the Saxon race. But we have to acknowledge all the while that it is not history, and

that even its historic basis is doubtful. This only we really know, that more than a century intervened between the withdrawal of the Romans from their stations on the Wall and the successful invasion of Northumbria by the Angles. Much may have happened within that century, but for us it is blank and voiceless. If the twelve Arthurian battles of Gildas were ever fought, and if Mr Skene be right in saying that they must have been fought in the north, then they took place within that century; and they were not fought with the Angles, who came into England after Ida and his successors. But they may have been fought with the Picts, and with that earlier Saxon colony which, as I have already said, almost certainly existed in the Merse and on the Lothian seaboard even before the withdrawal of the Romans. That colony appears to have been closely connected with the tribes that under Hengist entered Kent; and the colonists were, therefore, Saxons and not Angles. Let us suppose, if we please, that after the withdrawal of the Romans these early northmen swarmed southward and westward in alliance or in rivalry with the northern Picts, and overpowered the Britons who had been left by the Roman commanders to man, as they best could, the stations on the Wall; that they oppressed and harried, but were not strong or numerous enough to dispossess or exterminate, the Britons as far south as York and the Humber. Let us then suppose that the Britons, driven by necessity to close their ranks and sink their sectional disputes that made them an easy prey to the hardy Saxons, found an able and warlike Gulledig—or "Wall-keeper," the Arthur of Gildas, and that in a series of triumphant battles he defeated the Saxons, and drove them back over the Cheviots, and over the Tweed, and then we should have the basis of fact for the entire Arthurian legend. The era of union and conquest would not last long, and when the Angles arrived in the middle of the sixth century they met with no effective or protracted resistance; for in the course of half a century, as we find, they had rendered themselves masters of all the eastern half of the country, back to the water-shed, and in 603 were able to fight and win this decisive battle of Daegsastan.

8th March, 1895.

The Rev. WILLIAM ANDSON, V.-P., presiding.

On the proposal of Dr Chinnock, a resolution was passed expressing the regret of the Society on account of the death of Mr Patrick Dudgeon of Cargen, the eminent mineralogist.

New Member.—Mr William Murray of Murraythwaite.

Donations and Exhibits.—The report of the British Association, 1894; Transactions of the New York Academy of Science, 1894; Journal of the Elisha Mitchell Scientific Society, North Carolina. Mr Shaw exhibited an adder-bead possessed by an old woman in Tynron as a charm. Mr J. A. Moodie exhibited, on behalf of Mr J. F. Cormack, of Lockerbie, the following documents:—Precept of Sasine by Oliver Cromwell in favour of Patrick Lyndsay, as heir of William Lyndsay, dated 13th Sept., 1655. Sasine in favour of William and James Raff, of one merk land in Chirnside, dated 31st May, 1597. The notary to this Sasine was George Sprot, of Eyemouth, who was executed 12th August, 1608, for being concerned with Robert Logan of Restalrig in the Gowrie Conspiracy in 1600. Crown Charter by King Charles II. in favour of John Sybbald, servant to Sir John Howe, Lord Justice-Clerk, dated 1668. Seal awanting. Sundry ancient legal documents—one being a Charter by John, Commendator of the Monastery of Coldinghame. Mr Moodie also exhibited a Crown Charter belonging to him, dated 1578, having attached a fine example of the Great Seal of James VI.

COMMUNICATIONS.

1. *New-Galloway Fresh Water Algæ.*

By Mr JAMES M'ANDREW.

The following list of Scotch Fresh Water Algæ found round New-Galloway is taken from a paper contributed to "The Journal of Botany," April, 1893, by Mr William West, F.L.S., Bradford:—

Conferva pachyderma, Wille.
Do. Raciborskii, Gutw.
Pediastrum angulosum (Ehrnb.), Menagh.
Ophiocytium cochleare (Eichw.), A. Br.
Eremosphæra viridis, De Bary.

Urococcus insignis (Hass), Kütz.
Epithemia gibberula (Ehrnb.) Kütz, var. *rupestris*, (W. Sm.) Rabh.
Eunotia incisa, Greg.
Do. *majus*, var. *bidens*, W. Sm.
Do. *gracilis*, Ehrnb.
Do. *pectinalis*, var. *undulatum*, Ralfs.
Synedra lunaris, var. *undulata*, Rabh.
Do. *biceps*, Kütz.
Nitzschia tenuis, W. Sm.
Navicula serians (Breb.), Kütz.
Pinnularia nobilis, Ehrnb.
Do. *gibba*, Ehrnb.

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2. *A Superstitious Custom in Galloway.*

By Mr John M'Kie, Kirkcudbright.

Superstition dies hard, as newspapers still occasionally record, and it is often found that customs linger in the land for generations after the cause which first led to their adoption has disappeared. The habit of putting "cowsherne" into the mouth of a young calf before it was allowed to suck its mother is one commonly practised within my recollection. Having once asked an old woman, whom I had just seen perform the operation why she did so she then gave me the following legend:—"In the olden time, when Galloway was stocked with the black breed of cattle, there was a carle who had a score of cows, not one of which had a white hair on it; they were the pride of the owner, and the admiration of all who saw them. One day while they were being driven out, the carle's dog worried the cat of an old woman who lived in a hut hard by, and though he had always treated her with great kindness, and expressed sorrow for what his dog had done, she cursed him and all his belongings. Afterwards, when the cows began to calve, instead of giving fine rich milk, as formerly, they only gave a thin watery ooze on which the calves dwined away to skin and bone. During this unfortunate state of affairs a pilgrim on his journey, probably to the shrine of St. Ninian, sought lodgings for the night. The wife of the carle, though rather unwilling to take in a stranger during the absence of her husband, who was on a journey, eventually granted his request. On her making excuse for the poverty of the milk she

offered, when he tasted it he said the cows were bewitched, and for her kindness he would tell her what would break the spell, which was to put some 'cowsherne' into the mouths of the calves before they were allowed to suck. As the carle approached his house, when returning from his journey, he noticed a bright light in the hut of the old hag which had cursed him. Curiosity induced him to look in, when he saw a pot on the fire, into which she was stirring something and muttering incantations all the while till it boiled, when, instead of milk as she doubtless expected, nothing came up but 'cowsherne.' He told his wife what he had seen, and she told him what the pilgrim had told her to do, and which she had done, which left no doubt that it was the ungrateful old witch who had bewitched their cows. Next day, when she came expecting her usual dole, the carle's wife caught hold of her before she had time to cast any cantrip, and scored her above the breath until she drew blood with a crooked nail from a worn horse shoe, which left her powerless to cast any farther spells. The cows now gave as rich a yield of milk as formerly, and the custom then began was continued long after witchcraft had ceased to be a power in the land." Whether there are any who still continue the practice I am unable to tell, not having thought of making any inquiry.

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3. *Notes of 30 Years' Residence in Tynron.*

By Mr James Shaw.

The parish of Tynron is hardly so pleasant to the eye of an artist as it was more than thirty years ago. At that period we had several fords crossing the highway. Sir Walter Scott, mounted on his pony, has been known to take a round-about to cross á ford, rather than a bridge; it seemed to him so much more romantic. We had some of the finest larch trees in the county. The wind, more than the woodman's axe, levelled them to the ground. The terrible storms of 1883-4 have left us only their unsightly roots, and the late storm—22nd December, 1894—uprooted or broke several thousand trees, some of them the finest in the parish. With the loss of the trees there has been a diminution of owls, so that the long nights are quieter with less of their screeching. On a few farms when I came the cattle were black Galloways. These have disappeared, and Ayrshires

alone are seen. Cheviot sheep are giving way, and blackfaced prevailing. Instead of vehicles going to market at neighbouring villages, cadgers' carts come to the farm houses. Since the new Ground Game Act rabbits are scarce, and hares are nearly extirpated. The squirrels are fitful visitors. A great wave of them appears; then, as at present, there is an ebb. The curious flat stones which roofed the houses have disappeared in favour of slates. The number of inhabited houses has decreased, and their ruins are not always picturesque. Tinkers with their donkeys do not now visit us. Umbrella-menders, knife-grinders, and sellers with baskets are scarce, but tramps asking alms have noways decreased. The river Shinnel runs as of yore, arched over for many miles with a beautiful canopy of natural wood. Although illegitimate methods of securing trouts, with which it was well stocked, have been put down, yet the system of deep-draining, suddenly flushing the water and carrying away the spawning beds, is an angler's complaint. The heritors having mansions in the parish are not now resident. They spend only a few summer months with us, or let their houses, so the work of smith, coachman, and domestic servants is far less in demand. On the other hand, houses that have been built or repaired since I came to the parish are much more comfortable to the inmates.

When I arrived in Tynron, and for years afterwards, water was obtained almost universally from open wells; chimneys were swept by setting fire to them; messages were conveyed across straths by shrilly whistling on fingers; towns were reached by bridle paths. These mountain tracts were used for sheep conducted to the great stock markets, as Sanquhar, and not being much employed for this purpose now are falling into decay. The people around me to a greater extent than at present knitted their own stockings, plaited their own creels, carved their own crooks, made their own curling brooms or cows, bored their own tod-and-lamb boards, squared their own draught-boards. A very few women smoked tobacco like men, and a very many men had chins like women. Broom was boiled, the juice mixed with hellebore and tobacco, and used as a sheep-dip. The sheep, in fact, were not dipped at all, but their wool was combed into ridges, and the composition carefully poured in the skin from an old teapot. There were no wooden frames for bees; only the cosy-looking straw skeps. The Shinnel drove several mill wheels; now it drives only one. There was a method of announcing the

arrival of letters, by depositing them in a water-tight chamber of a cairn or mass of boulders on an eminence a mile perhaps from the shepherd's house, and then erecting a huge pole or semaphore, which soon attracted a messenger. The limbs and backs of boys were stronger, and carried for you heavy carpet bags at 1d per mile. Watches were worn in trouser pockets. The school children were fitted out with stronger leather bags, like soldiers' haversacks, containing their dinner as well as their books. Their books were much more carefully covered with cloth, and in some instances with white leather. Their food was more thriftily cared for, and there was no *débris* of leaves of books and crumbs of scone left on the roadside near the schoolhouse as is at present. The plaid was a much more common article of dress. It is now giving way to the great-coat or waterproof, which is more convenient to a shepherd, affording him pockets to hold tea for the weak lambs, and covering his body better.

When I found myself in the interior of shepherds' and dairymen's houses, the old eight-day clock, with wooden door and painted dial, was common. It kept company with the meal-ark, a huge chest divided into two compartments—one for oatmeal, one for wheaten flour. Bacon, hams, and flitches, then as now, wrapped in newspapers, hung from kitchen rafters. Puddings were wreathed round suspended poles. Fireplaces are gradually contracting—the older ones are the widest. The fire in winter, eked out by peats and cleft-wood, is often very violent in its hospitality. Seated in the cushioned arm-chair, I have for a while maintained conversation by holding up my extended palm for a fire-screen, but was generally obliged to push back my chair at the risk of overturning a cradle or turning the charmed circle into an ellipse. An inner ladder was stationed in the porch or between the but-and-ben, up which the children or serving men mounted to their obscure attic hammocks. On great nails, here and there in the walls, hung, and still hang, crooks, shears for clipping sheep, lanterns for moonless nights, mice traps with holes, rat traps with strong iron teeth and springs. There were no carpets on the rooms, but the floor was mottled with sheep skins in their wool, and the mat before the room fire was home-made, with all sorts of dark rags stitched together, having a fluffy, cosy look. On the chest of high drawers might be observed a Family Bible, a field glass, a stuffed blackcock and pair of large ram's horns, or a basket with curious

abnormal eggs and with shells from the seashore. A black cat, a brindled cat, and a muscovy were generally crossing each other or demanding a seat on your knee. You would feel something cold touching your hand, and presently observe it was the nose of a collie dog, generally named after a Scotch river, such as Yarrow, Tweed, or Clyde. At the door of the poultry house was a little hole or lunky which admitted the cats when shut out from the family domicile. On Sundays waggon loads of children, carefully packed in straw, presided over by the maternal or paternal owner, or both, would pass my house on the road to church; wives and maidens who could not command such a conveyance walked past, their shoes and stockings in a napkin, ready to be put on at the rivulet's side nearest the church. At that time the greater portion of the families in my district were Cameronian or Reformed Presbyterian. At the present time the Parish Church has the greater number of adherents, and it being a much nearer place of worship, these modes of travelling are wearing out.

Ever since I came to Tynron, the child enters the Christian Church on a secular day. Neighbours are invited, and the table groans with every kind of food. Butter (salt, fresh, or powdered), bacon and eggs, sweet milk and skimmed milk cheese, potato scones, soda scones, drop scones, treacle scones, tea, and a dram are part of the fare. The shepherds have a very restricted number of baptismal names. At one time the fourth of my schoolboys were "Williams."

Weddings are celebrated in the same hospitable and jovial style. I have sat in a barn or cheese-room, the walls of which were lined with sheeting to protect our clothes; the floor saw dusted for dancing. The built-in boiler was transposed into a platform for the fiddlers. The tea was taken in relays; the minister, schoolmaster, and small gentry occupied seats at the first table, which, along with the forms for sitting on, was improvised from slabs for the occasion. The commoner folk and young herds were next regaled at a second spread, while the elders smoked tobacco outside. The dances did not consist of walking, simpering, and circling round each other with planetary regularity, but were like those that took place in Alloway Church, as far as noise, life, and motion were concerned. Towards morning came that awful ordeal, the pillow dance, or "Bob at the bolster," an ingenious method of picking out the bonny and weel-liked, and

placing the less distinguished at the bottom of the class. The best man having picked out the bride, it next became her turn to throw the handkerchief to whomsoever she chose. The happy swain knelt as she stooped. The fiddlers shrieked a minuendo, and the last kiss that ever alien lips should secure was wrested from the bride.

Funerals were well attended, and the custom of having a service prevailed, and only began to thin out after I entered the parish. I was told by a well-wisher to get acquainted with the people, and to attend all the sheep shearings and funerals to which I was invited. The attendance at funerals is diminishing, and generally a few gigs now pick up all the mourners. The exodus of young men and daughters into the large towns reacts on provincial simplicity. I witnessed wreaths of flowers heaped on the coffin of an old Cameronian, whose opinion, I am certain, had never been taken on the matter. The humblest family must have a memorial stone.

I shall pass over gatherings in connection with sheep, killing pigs, &c., and remark that the *kirn*, or harvest home, is no longer celebrated. St. Valentine's Day is forgotten, and the Candlemas bleeze has given way to a Christmas present. Even the Hallowe'en described by Burns—the turnip lantern and the pulling of kail stocks—is away, the only survival being that on Hallowe'en mummers with false faces enter your kitchen expecting an obolus, and highly gratified when you are puzzled and unable to guess their names or even their sex.

The gradual decrease in our rural population, consequent on the increase of factories in towns, and the turning of Britain into a manufacturing centre for the whole world, is evident in Tynron.

In 1801 the pop. was	... 563	In 1871 the pop. was	... 381
,, 1831 ,, ,,	... 493	,, 1881 ,, ,,	... 416
,, 1841 ,, ,,	... 474	,, 1891 ,, ,,	... 359
,, 1861 ,, ,,	... 446		

That is, at last census, the reduction in population compared to 1801 was 204 persons. The former considerable population has left on our hills and dales some traces of itself in a few stones of former bourocks overgrown with nettles, and here and there a few wild gooseberries and some plants, such as monks' rhubarb and masterwort, of no use now, but formerly used in poor people's broth. On the hills also, 200 ft. above any arable ground, there are at present to be noticed the furrows once caused by the ploughshare. Dividing the results of the last four decennial

estimates by four we find the average population for 30 years is 400. Our deaths from 1861 to 1891, both included, are 183. Divide by the number of years 31, and you have 6 deaths per annum to 400 population, which gives us—death rate, 15 per 1000. By the same mode—marriage rate, 6 per 1000; birth rate, 27 per 1000. This birth rate is less than that for the whole of Scotland taken for the same period —namely, 27 against 33. The marriage rate is slightly less, and the death rate is considerably less. In the 31 years over which I have gone the death rate for Scotland is nearly 21 per 1000, while that of Tynron is 15 per 1000. When we consider that many of our young men and women emigrate to the towns, leaving the older people remaining, our health record stands out well.

As I have already read a paper on folk-lore, I shall mention only one curious custom. A woman about 30 or 40 years ago caused her children to wash their feet every Saturday evening. As soon as the ablutions were performed, a live peat or coal was thrown into the tub, the person doing so walking three times around it. This was meant to prevent death. On Thursday, after the terrible snowstorm of 6th February, a shepherd told me he could have predicted a change, because on Tuesday evening *Hurlbausie* was far too near the moon. This strange word was old people's name for the planet Jupiter.

Art has decidedly improved. We have two large memorial windows in the Parish Church, one of them as fine as any window of the kind in the county. In sewed samplers you have Pharoah's daughter rescuing the baby Moses, and others of that sort. On the mantelpieces are crockery hens sitting on delf baskets, brooding over crockery eggs. But cabinet photos are superseding the high-coloured prints of the happy pair courting, or going to church to be kirked. Red carts, red petticoats, red cravats, red calico napkins still prevail, but the young women coming back for holiday from domestic service in towns are toning down the enthusiasm for primary colours. The rack above the dresser with the dishes, knives, forks, and spoons is sometimes a picture of itself. The stone floor of the kitchen and the threshold are made gay with curious scroll patterns, white or red, by rubbing with caumstone. The taste for garden and potted flowers has increased, and at Yule Christmas trees are in bloom with us. Concertinas and melodeons have multiplied. Queer

old songs in which the heroine mourns over her highwayman executed, or in which disappointed love vows vengeance, or in which Bacchus is blest, are hiding their heads. There was a low suppressed murmur of disapprobation at the introduction of instrumental music in church.

Proverbs, some of them having an aroma of the sheep-walks, abound. I beg to give a few not inserted in "Hislop's Collection of Scotch Proverbs," although that collection professes to be complete.

The richt wrangs naebody.

He's a man among sheep, but a sheep among men.

There's nocht sae crouse as a new scoured louse.

She would mak' a gude poor man's wife; get him poor and keep him poor.

Ye're aff your eggs and on the grass (applied to one who reasons incorrectly).

Auld soles mak' bad uppers (that is, old servants make hard masters).

Hae as much o' the deil in you as keep the deil aff you.

Gif ye winna hae walkers, riders may pass by (applied to girls who are too saucy).

He that lies down wi' the dogs rises up wi' the fleas.

He would mak' a gude poor man's pig: he eats weel at every meal.

Tak' tent o' the hizzie that's saucy and proud,

Tho' her e'e's like the gowan and the gowan like the gowd.

Whittlegair was the heroine of a favourite story. She is beautiful, but set at nought. She finds a gold ring in a pie, and afterwards is lucky and happy. A variant of the ballad of Gill Morice used to be sung. The child grew to manhood, and was in great poverty. His mother was wont to meet him secretly and relieve his wants. A tell-tale aroused the earl's jealousy. He was beset by the earl, overpowered, beheaded, and his head brought home to his unhappy mother on a pike as the reward of her supposed infidelity. The Countess, on seeing her son's head, swooned and shortly after expired. The old woman who chanted this is long since dead. The following child's rhyme was more

common in Renfrewshire. I only heard it once in Dumfriesshire. It was sung to a young child previous to its learning to walk :—

> Wag a fit, wag a fit, whan wilt thou gang ?
> Lantern days, when they grow lang,
> Harrows will hap and ploughs will bang,
> And ilka auld wife tak' the ither by the tap,
> And worry, worry, worry till her head fa' in her lap.

"Lantern days" mean the days of Lent. In this winter of unwonted severity ploughs have not begun with Lent, though they stopped about Christmas.

About six years after my residence in Tynron, my father and I listened to the sound of an aurora. It was a very bright aurora, sending streamers and luminous mist across the zenith. It was like the sound of rustling silk, falling and rising. It is a very rare thing to hear this ; but I wrote of it to *Nature*, and discovered I was not entirely alone in my experience. Tom Brown, while a member of this Society, when early up at lambing time, saw the spectre of the Brocken—that is, opposite himself, reflected on a bank of clouds about sunrise, he saw a magnified image of himself, whose motions corresponded to his own. My neighbour schoolmaster observed "Will-o'-the-Wisp" one summer night in a marshy spot between Shinnel and Skarr. In the store at Tynron Kirk is to be seen a shop account book made by a former grocer, bound in calf skin, the hairs still adhering to it. In that book entries are made of sales of tow, showing that the spinning wheel went round. There are also entries of sales of barleymeal. Now only a few rigs of barley are grown by one farmer only. Sermons are shorter, but there is more psalmody. Thanksgiving Monday has become secular. Grace before meat has nearly reached vanishing point. Grace after meat is most frequently taken for granted. I fear Burns' "Cottar's Saturday Night" is following Burns' "Hallowe'en" into the halls of memory.

Before closing, let me say a good word in favour of the scrupulous honesty of the great mass of the parishioners. I have had, during a whole night, linen spread to bleach or my blankets hung out to dry. I have forgot to lock my door. I have left the school door wide open for a night without loss. A cow might swallow half a shirt, but no fingers ever pilfered one. I lost a legging on the hills, but the lost legging hopped back to me. Carrying my coat on my arm on a bridle path one sultry day I dropped my spectacles, but my spectacles gravitated towards my

eyes again. A friend of mine had a spill, but a schoolboy carefully gathered up the larger spelks of the tram of the broken vehicle and made me a present of them, as he said, for my museum. My bad debts in the long period of my residence might all be paid with that current coin of the realm upon which is engraved the figure of the war-like saint vanquishing the dragon.

5th April, 1895.

Mr Thomas M'Kie, F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

New Members.—Messrs John M. Aitken, Norwood, Lockerbie; J. H. Edmondson, Riddingwood; and William M. Maxwell, Bank House.

Donations.—The Bulletin of the Geological Institution of the University of Upsala, 1893-4; the Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1893.

Exhibits.—Mr James Barbour, on behalf of Captain R. C. Fergusson of Craigdarroch, exhibited 13 burgess tickets held by the Captain's predecessors, and also a diploma of admission to the Revolution Club, Edinburgh, 1755, to James Fergusson of Craigdarroch.

Communications.

1. *Troqueer in the Olden Time.*

By J. G. Hamilton-Starke, M.A., F.S.A.

The annals of the parish of Troqueer are to be gathered chiefly from the memoirs of the Rev. Mr Blackader, who was ordained its minister in 1653; from the Kirk-session records, which begin in 1698; and from the "Old and New Statistical Accounts" written in 1791 by the Rev. Mr Ewart, and in 1844 by the Rev. Mr Thorburn, two of its parish ministers.

But these accounts are more or less fragmentary, and the fullest history of the parish appeared in the columns of the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier* during the months of July, August, and September, 1878, in which the old authorities were revised, the minutes of the Kirk-session carefully deciphered, and for the first time most of them published, together with full information up to that year upon almost every subject of public interest within the parish.

As these articles bore no name of the writer of them, I may now mention that they were written by me, so that no charge of plagiarism can be made if I weave a few of their details into this paper.

But I shall avoid details as much as possible, and give a general account more suited to the time and taste of our monthly meetings. In one important respect this paper is an original communication, inasmuch as I can now prove what was for long a mere theory of mine—viz., that in the olden time there was a village or kirktown called Troquire along the road leading to the Parish Church, and quite distinct from the Bridgend of Dumfries, now the populous burgh of Maxwelltown.

The first thing which srikes one is the peculiarity of the name of the parish, the spelling of which as at present dates only from a little before the beginning of this century. In a charter of the fourteenth century it is spelt Trogwayre, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it is variously spelled, according to the ear of the writer Trequair, Trequier, and Troquire.

It has been suggested that the word may be derived from old French words *trois choeurs*, and mean the third of three choirs, of which Lincluden and Newabbey were the others. But the French language had scarcely any influence in this district, and if it had any, the words supposed would be unintelligible French applied to a church building. On this point Mr Cosmo Innes says—"From the names of places and persons in charters of the twelfth century in Galloway it appears the people were of Celtic or Gaelic race and language, which remained until the fifteenth or sixteenth century. It had its own laws of the Bretts and Scots, which King Edward in vain tried to abolish. The Normans had no secure footing, nor the court French of Queen Mary's time."

The learned Mr Chalmers in his "Caledonia" derives it from two old British words—*tre*, a small town or village, and *gwyr* (similar to the way I find it spelt in fourteenth century), the bend or turn of a river.

There is but one other town in Scotland of a similar sound and spelling, Traquair in Peeblesshire—a village situated beside a winding river called the Quair.

Here the river has been always called the Nith or Nid, but it certainly winds round this eastern boundary of the parish from near the church to Mavisgrove, a characteristic which caught

the eye of Burns when one day thinking of Miss Phillis M'Murdo he composed the beautiful verses which begin, "Adown winding Nith I did wander."

I long thought over the matter, seeking for some other physical feature in the landscape which might better explain the latter syllable, until it occurred to me that it might be that other no less ancient British word *caer*, meaning a fort, and, if so, mean the fortified village or town. I had not far to look for some corroboration of this opinion, for here, close to the Parish Church, is that high circular mound called the Moat, which, whatever may have been the later uses to which it was put, has been recognised by antiquarians—including the learned author of "Caledonia"—as originally a British fort. It stands opposite the lofty, grim rock of Castledykes—once a castle of the Comyn family—both guarding against a hostile invasion from England the town of Dumfries and this side of the river. We have Caerlaverock, Cargen, Carruchan, Corbelly, all derived from *caer* a fort; and so also, I believe, was this village Tre-Caer, now called Troqueer.

But you may accept either interpretation, as both follow the clue given by Chalmers that it is derived from old British words. The more important question is—Was there a village or town here in the olden time? To which I am able to give an unquestionable reply in the affirmative, and thus corroborate Mr Chalmers's opinion as to the derivation of the first syllable.

Many years ago I was told of, and in some instances saw, the foundations of old houses revealed when new buildings were being erected along the Troqueer road; and in 1878 I was agreeably surprised to discover in the Kirk-session records the name of a "village or toun of Troquire" in the direction towards the Parish Church. Subsequently I found it mentioned in title deeds of the 17th and 18th centuries, and quite recently in a charter of the 14th century. This explains why the Bridgend was always called "of Dumfries"—to mark it out as an adjunct of that town, though not subject to its legal jurisdiction. Into the Bridgend fled all outlaws from justice and those banished from the town of Dumfries.

These Kirk-session records tell how, 200 years ago, the church officer, or "bedle," as he is sometimes called, had to ring a hand-bell through the whole parish to announce burials, but if he only required to ring it in Bridgend and Troquire he received only a part of the fee for ringing it landwards.

13th Nov., 1698.—That the officer have 14 pence for the grave-making and ringing the bell at burials throughout the whole parish, except at the Bridgend and Troquire, which shall pay but 10 pence.

This hand-bell was rung through Troquire and Bridgend "each Sabbath morning when there is sermon as usual."

Then in 1716 it is called Troquier toun.

26th August, 1716.—The Session, understanding that William Edgar in Troquier toun did last Lord's day after sermon, at the church door and toun of Troquier, warn shearers in Brigend and toun of Troquier to repair to the Mains of Terregles to begin shearing on Monday and following days; and considering that this was no work of necessity, but a breach of the Lord's day, they appoint the officer to summon the said William Edgar to compear before them the next day of Session.

Then in 1754 here is an extract from a title deed for a small bit of land on the Troqueer road, which reveals a busy village or kirk town of which no vestige now remains, and the very description of it is in the names of places that are completely changed:—"Three roods of land called Clerk's Croft in parish of Troquire, near to the church of the said parish at the south end of the toun or village called Troquire, bounded betwixt the King's High Street going from the Brigend of Dumfries to the said kirk of Troquier, and on the south by lands called the Short Butts."

Here, then, along what is now called the Troqueer road was the old village of Troqueer, with its Short Butts near to the Moat hill for the practice of archery under old Scotch statutes, which required them to be set up in every parish near to the Parish Kirk. In the 18th century it would be as a mere pastime—to recall old times, "short butts" for the young, and "long butts" for grown-up persons—and at a later period probably to practice musketry for more serious purposes than mere pastime.

Then there was the village green, still called the Pleasance. There was a place called the Bilbow, with a park, houses, barns, and barnyards, where the villa of Ashbank now stands. It was a rural village or kirk town, with its population ploughing, sowing, reaping, and also gathering the produce of their orchards and gardens. One may still have a faint glimpse of what it was by standing in summer within the Troqueer road entrance to Rotchell Park, and seeing the remains of old orchards and

gardens in blossom fringing the rich agricultural lands which in gentle hill and valley trend towards Newabbey.

Lastly, it was not a village of mushroom growth, but a very ancient one, dating at least from the 14th century. Here is the translation of an extract from a charter granted by King David 2nd, dated A.D. 1365 :—

To Roger Wodyfeld all those tenements in the burgh of Dumfries, and 20 pounds worth of land *(viginti libratum terræ)*, with one house in the town of Trogwayre, which Janet, daughter of Walter Moffat, and Richard Duchti, her husband, had mortgaged to the said Roger. Rob., Index, p. 77.

Cosmo Innes says :—"The very ancient denominations of land from its value, *librata, nummata denariata terrae,* point at a valuation for some public purpose."

Having thus proved the existence of a very ancient village or small town of Troqueer, we corroborate the learned Chalmers in his derivation of the first syllable of its name. We also see the significance in ancient deeds of the Brigend being always called "of Dumfries;" and in the populous nature of both places we find an explanation for the parish church having from time immemorial been situated at this north-east part of the parish.

Although this ancient village has disappeared, the locality has in modern times acquired fresh interest in its association with our national poet, Burns, who often traversed the Troqueer road to visit Mr Syme at Ryedale; Dr Maxwell at Troqueer Holm; or Mr Lewars, his superior officer in the Excise, who lived and, in 1826, died in that quaint small house called Ryedale Cottage.

It was on Mr Lewars's sister Jessy that Burns composed the beautiful song, "Oh, wert thou in the cauld blast?" concerning which Dr Chambers, in his biography of the poet, thus writes :—"Many years after, when Burns had become a star in memory's galaxy, and Jessy Lewars was spending her quiet years of widowhood in a little parlour in Maxwelltown, the verses attracted the regard of Felix Mendelssohn, who married them to an air of exquisite pathos."

Two other houses Burns visited in the parish were Mavisgrove and Goldielea.

The minutes of the Kirk-session are extant with a few blank years—from 1698, and give a view of ecclesiastical affairs long fallen into desuetude. It used to exercise a very strict supervision over the congregation. The jurisdiction of these tribunals

and of the local magistrate, and, indeed, in some matters of the Court of Session, were by Statute, 1593, co-ordinate, but the former had full powers in questions of the faith and of morals in the first instance.

We may in a general way classify the accusations, or "delations" as they were called, before the Kirk-session and Presbyteries by virtue of some Scotch Act of Parliament, as including all offences against religion or decency or the well-being of the community in general. These were enormous powers, some of them necessary in those days to preserve law and order, especially in landward parts where there was no local magistrate; but others of them were a meddlesome interference with the liberty of the subject, such as charges of cutting wood or kail, driving cattle, carrying water, or walking on the Dock Park of Dumfries during the hours of divine service!

In cases where members of the congregation were suspected of being Papists they were summoned, interrogated, and if a *prima facie* case were made out, it was reported to the Presbytery for further inquiry.

Here are a few of these charges, but for others I refer you to the *Courier* of 1878:—

Irregular Church Attendance.—June 11, 1699.—The Session considering that many persons in this parish attend only one diet of divine service, and go away home immediately after forenoon sermon, to the great disregard of the Gospel and offence of good persons, the Session orders that Church persons thus guilty shall be immediately cited to the Session and their pretences and excuses heard, which if found trivial and invalid shall be prosecuted as Sabbath-breakers and punished accordingly, and appoints intimation of this to be made on Sabbath first.

Cutting Wood on Sunday.—This day William Hannah makes report that on Monday last the Laird of Lag delivered to him 3 pounds 14 shillings for the use of the poor, being a part of a fine imposed on a man, Thomas Howat, for Sabbath breaking, being cutting wood the last Lord's day in this parish.

Walking on Fast Day.—March 31, 1701.—The quilk day John M'Kie being cited, called, and compearing, was interrogate if it was he that was walking in time of Dumfries sermon on the Dock in sight of this congregation with Nethertown and Dirleton; answered in the affirmative. Being interrogate if he went to Dumfries church that day, answered in the negative. And being

questioned where he went, answered to Robert MacBrair's, and drank but one choppin of ale. Being interrogate if he sent his son that Fast Day with two horses to plough in Terregles, acknowledged he did, adding because there was no Fast kept there, it being a vacant congregation. Upon which he was removed; and the Session, considering his affair, finds him guilty of great contempt in not observing a day set apart for solemn fasting and humiliation. Wherefore the Session appoints the said M'Kie to be rebuked before the congregation on Sabbath next, and he being called in this was intimate to him; and, further, it is left upon the minister to acquaint the minister of Dumfries of Nethertown and Dirleton's offensive deportment.

7th June, 1716.—The thanksgiving day for extinguishing the rebellion.

Apostasy.—The Session taking into consideration the libel against Janet Hood, in Cargen, do find that by her own confession she hath absented herself from the worship of God upon the Lord's Day in her parish church or any other church for the space of one year and a half, and that her heart did not give her (as she speaks) to come to the worship of God for that space of time. And also that she was inclined and her heart did give her to the Popish or Roman Catholick religion, yea that she owned the Roman Catholick religion for her religion. Whereby it is apparent unto them that the said Janet is guilty of apostasy from the true Christian Reformed religion into the erroneous, idolatrous, and superstitious religion of the Romish Church. And this being a scandal of an atrocious nature, implying idolatry, heresie, errour, and schism, the Session understands that it is not proper for them to proceed any further in this process according to the form Assemb., 1707, number 11, chap. 6. Therefore they do refer the process unto the Reverend Presbytery of Dumfries that they may determine thereon as they shall find cause.

There was in every parish church of Scotland a conspicuous seat or post, called the stool or pillar of repentance, where delinquents had to appear generally for three successive Sabbaths before the congregation to have their sin proclaimed, and to be rebuked by the minister. The following extracts show that there was one for long in Troqueer Church:—

August 13, 1699.—Jean Waugh was this day rebuked before the congregation for profanation of the Sabbath by spinning.

Dec. 31, 1699.—This day appeared on the pillar Agnes Robeson

for the third time, and offered to pay her penalty of four pound Scots, but in regard the money being not correct, being all found not weight, the Session orders her to pay it against next Lord's day.

Slander.—26th August, 1716.—The Session find John M'Minn guilty of slandering and reproaching Margaret Sloan; and therefore, they do appoint the said John to stand in the publik place in the Church of Troqueir upon the 9th day of September next, being the Lord's day, and in the forenoon, to be rebuked by the minister.

Unchastity.—2nd June, 1717.—Mary Conkie appeared this day before the congregation in the publick place, and was rebuked after the forenoon sermon, the evil of her sin was laid before her, and she was exhorted to repentance.

The Parish Church seems to have stood on its present site from time immemorial, and the tombstones over seven of its ministers since the Reformation, extending from 1690 to 1846, or a period of 156 years, are to be seen in the churchyard. I have been often asked if I can explain why the church is situated so far from the centre of the parish, but it was necessary to have it here to serve the populous villages of Brigend, Troquire, and Nethertown. Before the Reformation there would be chapels more inland for the landward population on large estates, and the large churches of Newabbey and of Lincluden at either end of the parish would attract those nearer to these edifices.

The learned Mr Chalmers says in regard to the Rev. Mr Ewart's account of his parish and church in "The Old Statistical Account"—"This minister, who knew nothing of the history of the parish, supposes that the church was a chapel of ease. But it appears to have been an independent church from its foundation, and a separate parish so far back as it can be traced."

In olden times the parish church belonged to the Abbot and Monks of Tongland, who enjoyed the rectorial tithes and revenue, while the cure was served by a vicar, who reported it at the period of the Reformation as worth £20 Scots yearly, exclusive of gifts and fines.

In 1588 it was granted for life to the commendator of Tongland, and on his death in 1613 it was transferred by Royal grant to the Bishop of Galloway. When Episcopacy was finally abolished it reverted back to the Crown.

You are aware that after the riots in Edinburgh caused by the

reading of Laud's liturgy the General Assembly declared Episcopacy to be abolished, and in 1638 a National Covenant was signed with great enthusiasm throughout every parish in Scotland. So unanimous was this feeling in the parish of Troqueer in favour of the covenant that in 1640 the captain of its War Committee sent in the following report:—"Lancelot Grier of Dalskarthe, captain of the parochin of Troqueer, declares no cold or un-Covenanters within his bounds, except the Maxwells of Kirkconnell and the Herrieses of Mabie." This was an ancestor of the family called Grierson of Lag.

In 1653, when the Rev. Mr Blackader was ordained minister of the parish, he found that the teinds were claimed by the Earl of Nithsdale, as appears from the following letter of the Countess to Sir George Maxwell of Pollock, published in "Memoirs of the Pollock family":—

SIR,—Since I cannot have the happiness to see you in this countrie, I must importune you by letters as one in whose wisdom and affection to myself and my son I remain most confident. My husband had a tack of the tenths of the Church of Troquere in Galloway from the College of Glasgow, whereof they be as yet some years' standing; and now, as I am informed, Mr John Blackader, present minister of the said church, is putting in to have the said tenth in his own hand. Therefore, I earnestly entreat, as you wish the good of my son, you will stop his proceedings herein, since my son is now for many years by-past in possession and willing to continue in pay for the said tenths as his predecessors hath been, and if anything else shall be requisite he shall submit to you therein. Thus, not doubting of your good-will, I rest as ever,

Your faithful friend to serve you,

E. NITISDAL.

This 16 of February, 1654.

This letter, dated the year after Mr Blackader's unanimous induction, was the beginning of many troubles, as detailed in his published memoirs.

Soon after the Restoration, in 1660, a Royal edict ordered all parish ministers who had been ordained since 1649 to remove out of the bounds of their Presbytery; so, putting his children into "cadgers' creels" on either side of a horse, he went to Glencairn, where he held open-air conventicles among the hills.

The following is a vivid account of his last visit to Troqueer,

probably the most memorable event that has occurred in the history of the parish :—

On several occasions he preached in Galloway, and in January, 1681, he visited Troqueer at the request of his old parishioners. He preached at Dalscairth to a vast assemblage, and the Laird of Dalscairth accompanied him to Lochmaben, and back again by Rockhall to Dalscairth, where he again preached on a green near the house. On his way back to Edinburgh he preached at Sundy-well, in Dunscore. It was a time of deep snow, but the people set a chair for him, and pulling bunches of heather, sat on the moorside. Dalscairth accompanied him, and they were obliged to take the road at God's venture, the hills being loaded with snow. They shunned the pass of Enterkin, and went by Lead-hills as safest. But the people seemed to waylay him, and flocked about him to baptise their children. After this he returned no more to the South.

In this same year he was apprehended in Edinburgh, and sentenced by the Privy Council to be imprisoned on the Bass Rock, where, after four years' cruel confinement, he died in 1685. His body was brought ashore and buried in the churchyard of North Berwick, where a handsome tombstone and long inscription mark his grave.

In the olden time the Griersons of Lag possessed large estates "betwixt the waters," *i.e.*, the rivers Nith and Urr. In this parish they owned all the land south of the present Troqueer road, including Ryedale and the Moat, to Nethertown and Dalscairth ; and had a residence called Lag Hall, on or near to the site of the mansion-house of Mavisgrove, a little below which at the riverside is still in use for vessels a small quay called the Port of Laghall. In these days the house upon Troqueer Holm was called the Hall House.

Sir Robert Grierson, the "Redgauntlet" of Scott, who obtained unenviable notoriety for his persecution of the Covenanters, was made a baronet by King Charles II. in 1685, and died in 1733.

In these times land in the parish was described as within the regality of Lincluden, but regalities were abolished in 1746.

I heard the late Mr Pagan of Curriestanes, who was born in 1803, say that he had seen flogging at the cart's-tail through the streets of Dumfries, and a pillory in use in the Brigend.

But an older man was the late Mr Welsh, born in 1794, who told me he had seen the funeral of my wife's grandfather, General

Goldie of Goldielea, in 1804, at Troqueer Churchyard. It had been impressed on his memory, he added, owing to the great attendance at it of all classes, and a grand gilt coffin.

In the early part of this century there were rumours of a French invasion, and a company of Volunteers was raised in the parish, colours to which were presented by Mrs Maxwell of Kirkconnell, and are still preserved there.

In 1859, on the occasion of similar fears, there were formed Rifle corps throughout the Stewartry, among them the 5th or Maxwelltown corps, which I joined as ensign, and accompanied to Edinburgh in 1860 to a great review of over 20,000 Volunteers from all parts of Scotland by the Queen and Prince Consort. The arrangements were made by Colonel (afterwards General) Sir Montagu M'Murdo, of the family of Mavisgrove, and, with splendid weather and countless spectators in the Queen's Park, were a great success.

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2. *Some Incidents in Nithsdale during the Jacobite Rising of 1745.*

By JAMES W. WHITELAW, Solicitor.

A century and a half have elapsed since the last attempt was made to re-instate the Stuart dynasty upon the throne of Britain, and by the day of the month we are within eleven days of the anniversary of the battle of Culloden, where that attempt finally ended in failure. It may not be amiss, therefore, if at this meeting of the Society I say something regarding the Jacobite Rising of 1745, more especially as I am able to bring before you some correspondence which passed between the then Duke of Queensberry and his Commissioner in this county at the time, which has not been previously published. It is not within the limits of this paper, and indeed it would be presumptuous on my part to attempt any general survey of that Rising, but I trust you will permit me to recall to your memories one or two main facts, in respect that they have a bearing on the "Incidents in Nithsdale" to which I am to allude. The Jacobite standard was unfurled on 19th August, 1745, at Glenfinnan (a narrow valley at the western extremity of Loch Eil), and by 4th September the Prince was in full possession of Perth. The occupation of so important a centre necessarily drew attention to the Rising throughout the Lowlands of Scotland, and one

naturally asks what was taking place in Nithsdale at such a time. For an answer I turn to a letter written to the Duke of Queensberry by his Commissioner, Mr James Fergusson, younger of Craigdarroch; and as I shall again have to refer to this gentleman's letters, it may interest you to know that he was the eldest son of "Bonnie Annie Laurie," and the father of Alexander Fergusson, who carried off the Whistle at the famous meeting at Friars' Carse, celebrated by Burns. The draft of these letters are in possession of his great-great-grandson, Captain Cutlar-Fergusson of Craigdarroch, to whom I am indebted for a perusal of them. The first letter to which I refer is dated 2nd September, and is as follows :—

"The Invasion in the north of Scotland, which has been for some weeks talked of as a matter of little consequence, seems now more serious. We have many uncertain reports every day, but by the best accounts it's now past doubt that the young Adventurer landed near Fort-William several weeks ago, that a good many of the Highlanders have joined him. Their numbers are yet uncertain. Some say 2, others 3000, that General Cope with twixt 2 and 3000 regular troops is gone in quest of them, and was on Tuesday, the 27th August, within two days' march of them, and that they are much alarmed at Edinburgh and Glasgow, and are putting themselves as fast as possible in a posture of defence. These accounts we had here on Saturday last, and may be depended on as true. This day we were informed by letters from Edinburgh that General Cope had gone towards Inverness, and that the Highlanders had taken a nearer way over the mountains and come further south, that the Marquis of Tullibardine had come with a part of them as far as his brother, the Duke of Athole's house, and had sent orders before him to the Duke's factor to prepare dinner for him and his attendants, upon which the Duke came off for Edinburgh, and that the inhabitants of Perth were greatly alarmed, and were removing all their valuable effects. These accounts came by express to Edinburgh on Saturday. That night Hamilton's regiment of Dragoons lay upon their arms in the King's Park, and were to march early on Sunday morning for Stirling, where regiment now is."

"There was this day a meeting of the Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Supply here, occasioned by a pressing letter from the General Receiver of the Land Tax at Edinburgh

demanding payment of the arrears of this shire without delay. After having settled that matter, the gentlemen turned their conversation upon the present situation of the kingdom, and the defenceless state of this shire in particular, and agreed to write to the Justice-Clerk the good inclinations of the people, and their desire to have arms put in their hands out of the public magazines, as there were few in the county, and to ask his advice how to behave in the present emergency, whether to rise or wait orders for raising the Militia. A letter to that purpose was sent by express this evening to Edinburgh, and in the meantime it was agreed to make an inquiry without delay what arms are in the shire. I thought it my duty to give your Grace the above information. I go to Drumlanrig to-morrow, and as the post does not go from this till Wednesday, I have left this with Commissary Goldie that if anything further occur twixt and then, he may add it."

The minute of the meeting of the Commissioners of Supply referred to by Mr Fergusson is contained in the county minute books, from which we learn that both Mr Fergusson and his father were present at it, and the above letter seems to have been written in Dumfries after the meeting. The letter from the Receiver-General is engrossed in this minute. He states the arrears of Land Tax due by the County at £1353 4s 9d, and presses for immediate payment; and he adds, "This is the more necessary, as it is the fund appointed for paying the Forces in Scotland, and, as we are soon to have more with us, unless the Commissioners in the different counties exert themselves, I shall not have it in my power to furnish them with their subsistence, which would be attended with the greatest inconveniences at this juncture."

Upon the same day (2nd September) we find that a meeting of the Town Council also took place, at which a committee was appointed "to examine the arms of the town's magazine, and cause mend such of them as are decayed and insufficient; and to make search through the burgh, and take an account of what arms are in the hands of any of the inhabitants, see what condition the same are in, and to have such as are decayed or out of order repaired, and made fit for service." It is curious in this connection to notice that the burgess oath at this time contained a promise "to keep a sufficient gun and sword for the defence of the burgh when called for by the magistrates."

Apparently from Mr Fergusson's letter there was an informal conversation at the county meeting on 2nd September, and we otherwise learn that a committee was appointed to confer with the Presbytery on the crisis. This does not appear in the county minute; but in a minute of meeting of the Presbytery of Dumfries held on 4th September, it is stated that a committee of county gentlemen were present to confer with them, after which "the Presbytery agreed, and recommended to each minister of the bounds to take the most prudent method in their several parishes to get an account of the number of arms and fencible men in their respective parishes, and to bring in a report thereanent." These reports were made to a meeting of Presbytery held on 16th September, and a committee was appointed to wait upon the committee of the gentlemen of the county to declare that it was the desire of the ministers that the gentlemen should encourage the present spirit prevailing in the county, and take all proper measures for putting the county speedily in a state of defence with what arms belong to it at present, and to use their endeavours to get the country better supplied, and to take proper steps for bringing fit persons into the country for training the people in the use of arms, and forming them into proper bodies; and the ministers hereby authorise their committee to let the gentlemen know that they for their part are willing to give all assistance in their power in prosecution of the ends aforesaid, and shall be ready when desired to enter into joint measures with the gentlemen of the county for that purpose, and as occasion shall require in the present juncture. Well done the ministers, say I; and they deserved a better response than they got from the County Committee, who stated that "they did not find it expedient to put the county in arms at present in regard they did not see how it could be done with any good effect." This apathy practically prevented anything satisfactory being done, with the result, as you shall see later on, that the rebels met with no opposition when they marched through this county on their retreat from England.

By the 22nd of September the Prince was in possession of Edinburgh, and for fully a month he held Court in the Palace of Holyrood. While there he received many accessions to his supporters, but the only one of importance from the south of Scotland was Mr James Maxwell of Kirkconnell. He left a manuscript account of the Rising, which is still preserved at Kirkconnell,

and which was published by the Maitland Club in 1841. Curiously enough in this account, the Prince's journey through Dumfries is dismissed in a few lines. Mr Maxwell is often described as proprietor of Kirkconnell, and he was so afterwards, but at the time of the Rising he was merely the eldest son of the then proprietor, and his father must have lived until the storm blew over, because the estate escaped confiscation.

On 31st October the Prince left Edinburgh with an army 6000 strong. It split into two divisions—one with the Prince at its head going by Lauder and Kelso, and the other under Lord George Murray going by Lauder and Moffat, and these two divisions joined again at Reddings, and Carlisle soon fell into their hands. It was at one time feared that the division under Lord George Murray would pay Dumfries a visit, and the burgh was totally unprepared for any resistance—a very different state of affairs from that which existed in the Rising of 1715, when the town, with assistance from neighbouring burghs and the surrounding district, was so well garrisoned that the rebels under Viscount Kenmure dare not attack it. On 21st November the Prince left Carlisle, but so great was the disinclination of the Highlanders to leave Scotland that his army had dwindled to 4500. However, he resolved to press on, in the expectation that his friends in England would rise and join him, and that assistance would come from France. He was doomed to be disappointed in both of these hopes, and at Derby the leaders became convinced that their numbers were too few to accomplish the object they had in view—the capture of London. A retreat was accordingly resolved upon, and the Jacobite army began their return march to Scotland on 5th December, pursued by a force of 10,000 men under the Duke of Cumberland, King George's second son. This force was sufficient to annihilate the little army had it come up with it, but Lord George Murray, who had charge of the rearguard, attacked his pursuers' outposts at Clifton on 18th December, and caused a check which enabled the Prince's army to reach Carlisle in safety on the 19th. The Duke of Cumberland did not arrive there till the 21st. On the 20th the Prince crossed the Esk at Longtown, and the army was then split into two divisions—one under Lord George Murray going north by Ecclefechan and Moffat, while the main body with the Prince came to Ammam. Lord Elcho with 500 men rode on to Dumfries that night, where he was joined by the Prince next day. With a slight attempt at

a check at Annan water, no effort was made to oppose the rebels or to defend the burgh. Most of you are conversant with the incidents which took place in Dumfries at this time, but I think it will be of interest to hear Mr Fergusson's account of them.

On 18th December he wrote to the Duke as follows :—

"Upon Monday last there was a meeting at Dumfries of the gentlemen and clergy, when we received intelligence that the Duke of Cumberland had come up with ye rebels near Lancaster, yt his vanguard had beat a party of ym and driven ym into yt toun, where he had ye main body inclosed, yt the Duke of Perth with 110 horse, among ym ye Pretender's son and a good many of ye chiefs were said to be, had got away, and were come upon Saturday night last to Shap, yt an express was come to Penrith on Sunday morning from the Duke desiring the country might rise and take care of ye stragglers, and that he would take care of ye main body. This account yt was confirmed by several letters determined ye meeting to agree to raise a considerable body of the best men in this shire and the neighbouring parishes of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright to secure all the passes in the county. The Presbytery of Penpont are to meet at Thornhill to-morrow, when I intend to make up a company of at least 100 men out of your Grace's tenants in ye parishes of Kirkconnel, Sanquhar, Durisdeer, and Morton. These, I believe, will be sufficient at present, and are as many as I can get any way armed.

"A subscription was set on foot last week by some people at Dumfries for raising a sum of money to levy men for six months for recruiting ye regiments now in Scotland at ye expense of £4 bounty money to each man. It was proposed to me to write to your Grace concerning it. I declined yt till ye scheme should be approven by a public meeting of ye gentlemen, and, indeed, I thought altogether unnecessary to give you the trouble of a letter concerning it, as the time fixed by ye proclamation—viz., to the 25th inst.—for enlisting men to be discharged at the end of six months must be elapsed before any return from your Grace could be expected. I own I also disapproved the scheme. First, because I saw no probability of getting even ye small number which were proposed, being 120 men, to enlist in a place so thinly inhabited, and where there are so few manufactures as in this country; secondly, because I thought it would take to enlist even yt number a sum yt in ye present scarcity of money could not well be spared here in case ye Militia should be ordered to rise;

and thirdly, because I thought ye service yr by done to His Majesty would be very inconsiderable in comparison of the expense, and it would weaken our hands much in case of any such emergency as ye present. I found, however, on Monday last, when I was at Drfs., yt some gentlemen who were extremely kean upon this project had procured a good many subscriptions, and listed about half a score of men, and wrote to yr Grace concerning it without waiting for ye meeting of ye gentlemen and clergy yt was appointed to be on Monday last.

"To explain this conduct to your Grace, I must inform you yt when ye rebels passed ye Forth ye gentlemen of ye shire had appointed a committee of a few of yr number about Dumfries to procure intelligence, and call yem together by circular letter upon any emergency. Ye clergy also appointed a committee of yr number to take such measures as was thought proper, and call ym together if necessary. A very few of yese two committees took it in their heads, without calling any meeting, to contrive yt a letter should be wrote to the Lord Justice-Clerk, which was accordingly done, and subscribed by a few of ye gentlemen, setting forth ye zeal of ye country, and yt if orders were given for yt purpose a great many men would enlist in terms of ye proclamation allowing £4 bounty money to each man who would enlist, to be discharged at ye end of six months, or when ye rebellion should end. Unluckily they blundered in this by confounding two proclamations together, viz.—one offering £4 bounty money to men of a certain age who would enlist in the Guards, and another offering freedom at ye end of six months, or when ye rebellion should end, to any who would enlist, but ych mentions no bounty. The Justice-Clerk, in his return to them, commended yr zeal, but pointed out the blunder, upon ych yt ye scheme might not be altogether abortive, ych they had thus taken upon ym to contrive, they set ye above project on foot.

"As I found they had wrote yr Grace, but did not know in what terms, I thought it my duty to take ye first opportunity to give you ye real and true history of ye matter.

"At the meeting on Monday when the above news came, and ye project of raising ye country was agreed upon, it was likewise yt part of the money subscribed should be applied to buy ammunition and pay such men as could not afford to come out on yr own charge, as I believe we are all truly zealous to serve His Majesty K. George. I thought it would be very imprudent to say or do

anything which might tend to disunite us at this time, so I joined in the subscription with others, though ye first project of enlisting was not quiet conclusive in case more money could be got than to answer ye present exigency. My present view, and which I flatter myself your Grace will approve of, is to have nothing to do with that money in paying ye above number of men, ych I propose to raise upon yt emergency. I expect a good many will come out on their own charge, and to ye rest I propose to give 8d per day, ych will amount to no great sum, as I don't suppose we can be long together, nor would it indeed be proper we should, as we have no person of authority to conduct us."

The skirmish which Mr Fergusson refers to in the beginning of his letter was probably that at Clifton which I have already mentioned, but his information represented a rather more favourable result for the Government forces than was actually the case. We also learn from this letter that some of the members of the committees of the Presbytery and county gentlemen appointed in September previous were not satisfied with the resolution not to arm the county, and that they took some independent and informal steps to this end, only to meet with discouragement at headquarters.

Of the meeting of the Presbytery of Penpont referred to by Mr Fergusson, there is no mention in the records of that body; but we get some evidence of the "meeting at Dumfries of the gentlemen and clergy," which, when writing on 18th December, he states as taking place on Monday last, which was the 16th. That meeting was organised by a Standing Committee of the Synod of Dumfries appointed with special reference to the then existing condition of affairs on 8th October, 1745, but the actings of that Committee do not appear in the minutes of the Synod. In the minutes of the Presbytery of Dumfries, however, there occurs under date 11th December, 1745, the following entry:— "It being represented that a meeting of the Standing Committee of Synod that it had been agreed that the ministers of the bounds should join with the gentlemen of the town and country in an association for the defence of the King and the present happy Constitution against the Popish Pretender, in whose favour the Rebellion was now carried on by Papists and other disaffected persons in the kingdom, headed by the said Pretender's son, and it being represented that the said association was now opened in town, and a subscription of money begun in support of the said

association, the members of the Presbytery resolved unanimously to go immediately and subscribe the said association, and join in the subscription of money with the well-affected gentlemen in town and country, and in regard there was a meeting of Synod called *pro re nata* against Monday next, the 16th instant, the Presbytery recommend to their members to attend the same."

At a meeting of Presbytery held on 21st January, 1746, a report was given in as to the members of Presbytery who had entered into and subscribed to the foresaid association; and at a further meeting held on 4th February there was a report by the members of Presbytery, who were "members of the committee appointed by the gentlemen and clergy associating," upon the accounts of the cashier of said association, in which there were debit entries of "the sums already expended by their direction for enlisting able-bodied men into the marching regiments for six months at four pound sterling each as a premium, and for pay to the Volunteers of town and country at eight pence per diem." This latter sum was the same amount as Mr Fergusson paid to the men whom he raised; and with regard to the bounty of £4, I would observe that it would not appear to be in exact accordance with the terms of the Proclamations, which the Lord Justice-Clerk of the time delighted in quibbling over, rather than in encouraging the county to put itself in a state of defence.

On 28th December, Mr Fergusson again wrote as follows:— "Since I wrote your Grace, the 18th of this, the face of affairs is much changed here. Upon Friday, the 20th, the Highland army crossed Esk, and part of them came that night within eight miles of Dumfries. The 21st, the greatest part of them came to Dumfries, the rest having gone to Moffat, and a few came that night within eight miles of this. The 22nd, a few came to Thornhill, but most of them remained in Dumfries. The 23rd, they came all here and to the adjacent villages. The 24th, they left and went to Douglas, only some part of them lodged that night in Leadhills and Wanlockhead, and some near Sanquhar. The 25th, forty of them entered Glasgow and demanded quarter for their whole army in the kirks, meeting houses, and other publick buildings, and said they would not go into private houses. I have yet heard nothing further of their route. At Dumfries they behaved very rudely, stripd everybody almost of their shoes, obliged the town to give them £1000 and a considerable quantity of shoes, and carried away Provost

Crosbie and Mr Walter Riddell, merchants, as hostages for £1000 more, which was yesterday sent them to relieve these gentlemen. I was at Thornhill, the 21st, in the morning (when I heard of their approach) with a company of 100 men which I mentioned in my last, and about 50 seceders. I retired here and keepd them together till the evening, when I had certain advice the greater part of the Highland army was in Dumfries, and that everybody had laid down their arms, upon which I dismissed the people and desired them to secure their arms and horses. The 22nd, in the morning, I left this (*i.e.*, Drumlanrig), with all my family except nine servants by daybreak, and went to my father's house at Craigdarroch. The 23rd, about seven in the morning, two letters from Murray, their secretary, and another from one Riddell, a Fife gentleman and an acquaintance of mine, who is with them, were brought here and sent from this by express to Craigdarroch, where they found me about ten. The contents were telling me their Prince was to lodge here that night, and requiring me to provide quarters for their whole army in this house and the adjacent village. They neither mentioned their numbers nor directed me what quantity was to be got, but only desired I would cause kill a great number of black cattle and sheep, and provide a great quantity of meal. I retired immediately into the Galloway hills, about eight miles further, without giving them any answer, and carried the person who brought me the letters with me. When they came here they laid straw the whole rooms for the private men to lye on, except your Grace's bed-chamber (where their Prince lay) and a few rooms more. They killed about 40 sheep, part of your Grace's and part of mine, most of them in the vestibule next the low dining-room and the foot of the principal stair, which they left in a sad pickle, as they did, indeed, the whole house. Under the gallery they keepd several of their horses, which they made a shift to get up the front stair. They have destroyed all the spirits and most of the wine in your Grace's cellars—of both which there was a considerable stock and very good, which has been laid in gradually since I came here—a good deal of hay, and what corn they could get, all my ale and spirits, and other provisions. They have broken several chairs and tables, melted down a good deal of pewter by setting it upon the fire with their victuals, carried away a good deal of linen and several other things, which I have not yet time to know particularly. I

returned the 25th about eleven at night, and found most of the house worse than I could possibly imagine before I saw it. I got as much time on the 21st as to secure all papers in my custody, and the best of the bed and table linen, and some other things of value which escaped undiscovered. I directed the servants to conceal as much wine as possible upon the 22nd, after I went off, which they managed so well as to save, I think, about two hogsheads. The charter-room was not broken open, the servants having assured them the key was not in my custody, and that nothing was in it except papers, but not having patience till the servants brought the keys of every other place they broke up many of the doors. They would have done much more mischief, as the servants tell me—at least plundered the whole house—had not the Duke of Perth stayed till most of them were gone. He took sheets and blankets from several who were carrying them off, and returned them to the servants; and Mr Riddell above-mentioned directed the servants to go through the house all night to prevent fire. May God grant there may never again be any such guests here. By the nearest computation I can make, at least 2000 were lodged in this house and stables." At this point some words are interlined in the draft which are very difficult to decipher, but they seem to me to be "Drink money, 10 guineas;" probably this refers to the "tips" given to the servants, and is mentioned as affording a criterion for estimating the number of the unwelcome guests. The letter then proceeds:—"Upon the 25th, in the evening before I came here, upon hearing His Royal Highness the D. of Cnd. was come to Carlisle. I wrote him in case he intended to march any part of his army this way, I waited his commands to do all the service in my power for forwarding it. This, I told H.R.H., I looked upon to be my duty as a faithful subject to His Majesty King George, and as knowing it would be perfectly agreeable to your Grace, the care of whose affairs I had in this place. Upon the 26th eight men and five women who had straggled from the rear of the Highland army were brought here prisoners. The afternoon before they were plundering near Durisdeer, and were attacked by fourteen country people, seven of whom only were armed. They fired upon the people, but did no execution, upon which those who had guns returned their fire, and wounded most of the Highlanders, and before they had time to draw their swords ran upon them and knocked them down. I have sent a

party of the people who seized them to H.R.H. along with them. They lie this night at Thornhill, and go on to-morrow. I have not yet heard of the army's being come further than Carlisle. By the best accounts I can have about 500 men are left in that garrison. I have sent this by Dumfries, as I see no danger now of letters being intercepted while H.R.H.'s army is about Carlisle. The Highlanders paid for scarce anything in this country; they eat up poor Howit and Bow House, and paid nothing."

We get an interesting confirmation of Mr Fergusson's statement as to the conduct of the Highlanders in Dumfries in the "Lochrutton Journal"—a manuscript account of the Rising left by Rev. George Duncan, then minister of Lochrutton. Under date Sabbath, 22nd December, Mr Duncan writes:—"A melancholy day, the rebels in Dumfries. . . . They were most rude in the town, pillaged some shops, pulled shoes off gentlemen's feet in the streets. In most of the churches for some miles about Dumfries no sermon. God be blessed! we had public worship. I lectured I. Sam., iv.; Mr John Scott, minister of Dumfries, there being no sermon there, preached." The fourth chapter of I. Samuel was a most appropriate subject of lecture, for it refers to the defeat of the Israelites by the Philistines at Ebenezer, when the ark was taken, and no doubt Mr Duncan drew some startling parallels.

The £2000 levied by Prince Charlie upon the town was raised in the first instance by loans from various persons, and among the subscribers for the £1000 raised after the Prince left we find Mr Richard Lowthian and Miss Peggie Maxwell, sister of James Maxwell of Carnsalloch (which then also belonged to the Kirkconnell family), both of whom, no doubt, subscribed from reasons of policy. The funds so borrowed were repaid by an assessment at the rate of three per cent. upon the capital value of "houses and buildings and goods, wares, merchandise, household furniture, and oyr perishable stuff in the burgh at the time of the aforesaid demand;" and to show how strictly that assessment was levied, I may mention that the library books of the Presbytery of Dumfries, which, "as being perishable goods, are liable to be stented in this view," were valued at £300, and an assessment of £9 paid thereon.

In Dumfries the Prince stayed in the building which now forms the Commercial Hotel, but two storeys have been added to it since the time I am speaking of. It belonged to Mr Richard

Lowthian of Stafford Hall, in Cumberland, who was then in occupation of it. George Lowthian (Richard's father), who also owned Stafford Hall, removed from it to Leadhills very early in the eighteenth century, and after a residence there of 30 years, he died in Dumfries in 1735. He probably was engaged in the mining industry at Leadhills, and was successful in it, because we find his son Richard a wealthy man, owning considerable property in Dumfries, including the lands of Nunholm. Richard Lowthian went back to his native county for a wife, for he married Sarah Aglionby, a daughter of Henry Aglionby of Nunnery, who was Member of Parliament for Carlisle. Nunnery is within a very short distance of Stafford Hall, and curiously enough the latter property was acquired from Mr Lowthian's representatives by his wife's grand nephew, Major Aglionby, who added it to Nunnery. A new mansion house was sometime ago erected on this conjoined property; it is called "Staffield Hall," and is at present in possession of Colonel Arthur Aglionby. Richard Lowthian and his father are buried in St. Michael's Churchyard, and the next tomb is that of William Bell, who was provost of the burgh in 1745, Provost Crosbie mentioned in Mr Fergusson's letter being really ex-provost. Mr Robert Chambers, in his "History of the Rising," gives the following account of the attitude taken up by Mr Richard Lowthian during the Prince's stay in his house. He says that "Though well affected to the Prince's cause, he judged it prudent not to come into his presence, and yet neither did he wish to offend him by the appearance of deliberately going out of his way. The expedient he adopted in this dilemma was one highly characteristic of the time—he got himself filled so extremely drunk that his being kept back from the company of his guest was only a matter of decency. His wife, who could not well be taxed with treason, did the honours of the house without scruple." Before leaving, the Prince gave Mrs Lowthian a pair of gloves and his portrait, and these, along with hangings of the bed upon which he slept, are understood to be still in the possession of some of her descendants. With the bed itself I shall deal later.

I think it desirable to give you some details of Mr Lowthian's house. He acquired it in 1741 from Mr Matthew Sharp of Hoddom for the sum of £130, and in the disposition granted by Mr Sharp it is described as "All and hail my tenement of houses, high and laigh, back and fore, with yeard and barn at the foot thereof, adjacent thereto, lying on the west side of the High

Street of the burgh of Dumfries, bounded by the tenement of houses, yeard, and barn formerly belonging to John Crosbie, late Deacon of the Wrights in Dumfries, now to Joseph Johnston, Chyrurgeon there, on the south ; the Irishgate on the west ; the tenement of houses, yeard, and barn pertaining to me on the north ; and the King's High Street on the east parts." This tenement was described as "partly timber and slated" in a policy of fire insurance effected by Mr Sharp with the Sun Fire Office in London on 30th March, 1736, in which it is insured for £100, and looking to the price paid for it, I have no doubt it was in this position when purchased by Mr Lowthian, and that he immediately afterwards rebuilt it, because we know that in 1745 it was a stone house pretty much in the same condition as it is at present, with the exception of the two top storeys. As showing the improvement effected by Mr Lowthian upon this property, I may mention that it was sold in 1800 by his heirs for £1420. If you will allow me to digress for a minute, I would like to add that Mr Sharp's tenement to the north of it was known, and is mentioned in several records, as "Hoddom's stone house"—not I think because stone houses were very peculiar in Dumfries at the time, but to distinguish it from his house, "partly timber and slated," with which we are dealing. This "stone house" was afterwards known as "The Turnpike house," on account of the various flats being reached by a circular stair in front of the house entering off the street, but which I think did not form part of the original structure. Part of this house was let to Sir Robert Grierson of Lag in 1720, and it was from it that his funeral took place, regarding which there are so many weird but not very authentic stories. Mr Lowthian was, I have said, a man of means, and his new house was in the best style, so that Mr Chambers, in his history, describes it as "the best house in Dumfries" at the time. No doubt there was a pend through the old house giving access from the High Street to the yard behind, and the house itself would enter off the pend according to ancient custom. Mr Lowthian did away with this pend, and very probably his new house was among the first houses in Dumfries which had a direct entrance of the main street. The entrance was into a fairly wide lobby, off which entered four rooms on the first or ground storey. Of these rooms the two larger were to the front, and though they have now only one large window, they probably had originally each two smaller windows exactly under the corresponding

windows above. The two rooms on the left of the entrance have now been thrown into one. The servants' accommodation and cellars were in the basement storey, which was reached by a stair which descended from the end of the entrance lobby, and from a landing half way down this stair there was an access to the back-yard, and also to the kitchen premises, which were in an out building on a level with the yard. At the end of this lobby there was also a stair to the second storey, which stair had a mahogany railing with twisted balusters disposed in pairs. Facing one on reaching the landing is the main entrance to what is still known as Prince Charlie's room.

This entrance is of handsome form, having imposts, semi-circular top with archivolt and key, flanked with fluted Corinthian pilasters on pedestals supporting an entablature of architrave freize and cornice enriched with dentals and carved blocks, the capitals of the pilasters being also carved. This room is of two parts, one 20 feet by 19½ feet, and the other 15 feet by 14½ feet, and both 10 feet high, and divided by a moveable panelled partition. The walls are lined with moulded and fielded wooded panelling, tastefully arranged, resting on a moulded base, and finished with entablature of architrave freize and cornice relieved with dental and carved block enrichments. Indeed the whole house, including the entrance lobby, staircase, and landing, seems originally to have been panelled, and although the panelling has been removed in some of the rooms, much of it still remains. The larger part of Prince Charlie's room shows two round-headed doors flanked with Corinthian pilasters similar to those already described, and the doors are each in two halves, opening inwards. There are two fireplaces, one at the end of each apartment similarly flanked, and over each fireplace is a panel filled with a landscape painting. This room occupies the whole front of the building, and has five windows looking out on to the street—three being in the larger apartment and two in the smaller. These have seats in the recesses. The windows were originally divided into smaller squares by thick moulded astragals, but recently plate glass was substituted. With this exception and the substitution of marble slabs at the fireplaces for the original chimney pieces—probably of wood, elegant and thoughtfully designed—this room appears to be now in all respects as it was in 1745. The smaller apartment has a small doorway entering into a narrow passage leading from the main landing to

a small pantry. There are two other rooms on this floor at the back of the house entering from this landing, and probably one of the doors in the larger apartment of Prince Charlie's room entered into the room on the left of the landing. This cannot now, however, be exactly determined, as a passage has been taken off this back room to afford an entrance to the tenement on the north, which is now occupied as part of the hotel.

A party of the Highlanders also went out to Terregles, and seem to have been put up there. This is a fact not generally known, but we learn it from the minutes of the Kirk-session of Terregles, because in one of those semi-judicial inquiries (which Kirk-sessions were so fond of holding in those days) a date late in December is fixed as being about the time "when the Highland men came first to Dumfries, and when Rodger M'Donald came to the place of Terregles." He was probably lodged in the house of Thomas Coverlie, at Bowhouse, who seems to have been a dependent of the Terregles family, as he was then in Edinburgh with Lady Nithsdale. However, his wife was at home, and no doubt did the honours of the house; and we are told by Susan Edgar, daughter of Samuel Edgar in Bowhouse (one of the witnesses before Terregles Kirk-session in the inquiry), that, it having been reported that this Rodger M'Donald had threatened to take away her father's horse, she and a friend went to Thomas Coverlie's house between 12 and 1 o'clock on a Friday night (probably the 20th of December) to look in at the window and see if Roger M'Donald was there. As they did not see him, it was evidently thought that some mischief was afoot, because "after that she and others in her father's house fled away to Cornlie with their horses." Cornlie is in Irongray parish, and is about five miles from Bowhouse. The above, I think, shows that the then laird of Terregles was favourable to the Jacobite cause, although he did not join the forces, and it is not wonderful that his sympathies ran that way, for he was the son of that Earl of Nithsdale who was "out" in the Rising of 1715, and who was only saved from a violent death on the scaffold for his part in that affair by being smuggled out of the tower in the guise of a serving woman by his wife Winefred, Countess of Nithsdale. The estate of Terregles escaped confiscation at that time, because it had been conveyed to his son before the Earl took part in the first Rising; but the title was abolished, although among his friends the son, William Maxwell of Nithsdale, who was the

proprietor in 1745, was still known as the Earl of Nithsdale. The fact that the rebels were at Terregles also throws a new light upon a letter written at the time by Mr Maxwell's wife to her mother, the Countess of Traquair, which is published in the second volume of the Book of Caerlaverock. Writing from Terregles on 26th December, 1745, she says—"I dout not but your ladyship would be much surprised to hear of the good company we have lately had in this part of the world, and I'm sorry to say that neither our toun nor country deserved so great an honour;" and later on in the same letter she says—"All our friends are in top spirits, and, thank God, in perfect health, and still seems sure of the grand affair coming to a happie conclusion.'

Upon 7th January, 1746, Mr Fergusson again writes to the Duke as follows:—"I wrote your Grace the 28th December an account of the behaviour of the Highlanders here. I observe since they have quite defaced several of the pictures in the gallery by throwing a liquid of some kind or other upon them. I mentioned in my last that I had wrote the 25th December to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland offering to do everything in my power for forwarding his army should it come this way, and that I waited his orders. I sent him enclosed the two letters I got from the Highlanders requiring me to provide quarters for them here. Mr William Kirkpatrick, Sir Thomas' brother, and my father, who were then with me at Craigdarroch, wrote another letter to the same purpose to His Royal Highness. We sent them by Mr William Moody, minister of Glencairn. He was very civilly received by Lord Cathcart, aide-de-camp to His Royal Highness, who told him our letters were very acceptable, and that he would be glad to have seen ourselves. Upon hearing this we thought it our duty to wait upon the Duke, and accordingly Mr Kirkpatrick and I went to Carlisle the 1st of this. It was late before we got there, and as His Royal Highness was to set out for London next morning by three we could not see him. He sent his thanks to us by Lord Cathcart, who used us with great civility, and told us it was resolved none of the troops were to come this way, but yet our letters were sent to General Hawley in case he should have use for them while in Scotland. Having heard that several of the gentlemen who had gone to Carlisle from this shire and the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright had waited on General Inglethorpe and assured him of the good affections of the country to His Majesty's Government, and

that everybody would be ready to take arms in whatever shape they should be desired, and hearing among other things the raising of a regiment for six months, or till ye rebellion should be over, of the gentlemen and people in this country had been talked of, we took occasion upon the 2nd to wait on the General with Mr Heron, late Member for the Stewartry, who joined with us in confirming what had been said by others with regard to the affections of the county, but took the liberty to assure him that any scheme of putting this country in arms would be abortive, unless some person of authority to whose directions people of all ranks would cheerfully submit, and in whom they would confide, was proposed to put it in execution, and that none would be so agreeable as your Grace to both these countys; that under your authority we doubted not but they would make as good a figure, but that it was only deceiving the Government to raise their expectations concerning these countys in any other view, as most other persons concerned in them, upon whose affections to the Government the people should depend, were so much upon a level that it could not be expected any one would have authority enough to direct them, so that any scheme which they might attempt must necessarily run into confusion by various and contradictory opinions. The General treated us very civilly, and seemed to take what was said extremely well. For my own part, by the few months experience I have had of the present confusion, I am so sensible of the truth of the above observation that except under your Grace's direction I am resolved to have no further concern in raising the people in arms, unless the Militia are called out in a legal manner; and I can assure your Grace several of the gentlemen here, in whose power it is to do most service in that way, have the same intention. Many people who make a bustle and noise about their good affections to the Government have evidently their own private interests so much in view, and are so intent upon having the merit of anything that is done for its service in the country where they live, that there's no end of proposals, many of which are idle, and no chance of any being right executed otherwise than in the way I have mentioned. Such I can venture to affirm is the present situation of this county, and I think it my duty to write plainly to your Grace in this and everything in which you are so much concerned. May God long preserve you and give you the return of many happy years, and put in your power to be the instrument of delivering

your conntry from the present dismal situation in which it is. People of all ranks here have shewn so much their zeal to serve His Majesty King George that if the rebels return this way I fear what we have already suffered will appear a trifle in comparison of what we must yet expect.

"About 400 private men and 40 officers were made prisoners at Carlisle. Seven were hanged on the 2nd, and five some days before of those who had been with General Cope, and had listed with the rebels. None of the officers taken were people of any note."

Drafts of the letters written by Mr Fergusson and by his father and Mr William Kirkpatrick to the Duke of Cumberland at Carlisle are also extant, but as the purport of them has already been given, and they contain no important facts, I have not thought it necessary to trouble you with them.

On 21st January the Duke of Queensberry writes a reply, and it seems to have been the only letter sent by him to Mr Fergusson at that time, because this letter and the drafts from which I have been reading are backed up together as follows: —"Letter the D. of Q., January 21st, 1746, anent the rebellion, with copy of some letters of mine to him during the rebellion." The Duke's letter, which was written from London, is in the following terms:—

"I am in hopes that before this time the rebels have mett with their deserts. We receiv'd here yesterday the news of General Hawley's march from Edinburgh towards Sterling, and we are now in daily expectation of hearing of a battle. If the King's troops gain a compleat victory (which God grant they may) the peace and tranquility of our country, I doubt not, will soon be restored, but I am afraid it will take a considerable time to recover the calamitous circumstances brought upon it by this rebellion, which posterity will have difficulty to believe had so small a beginning when the progress and duration of it is considered; lett those answer for that who have trifled with it. The rebels, I never doubted, would do mischief at Drumlanrig when I heard of their behaviour in other places; but I imagined they would behave with rather more discretion when their leader was there. I suppose some of the pictures in the gallery might give them some offence. I suppose King William's picture would not fail of bearing particular marks of their displeasure, but I am glad they have not defaced the pictures with their broadswords,

for those who understand cleaning pictures may probably be able to gett off any liquid that is not of a corrosive nature. However, it is dangerous to lett experiments be try'd on them except by a skilful hand. I want much to know in what circumstances my tennants are now in, and how far they have particularly suffer'd, when any money may be expected, and how much.

"As for the projects of arming the country, I find it impracticable to bring it about in any effectual method. I very early represented the good disposition of the people, and offer'd to employ my endeavours for the publick service, but nothing was thought adviseable but regular forces. I then offer'd to go down and raise a regiment, to be under military discipline, officer'd by the gentlemen of the country; but that likewise was rejected, so I believe it will be hard to devise any method that will meet with approbation."

You will remember that when Mr Fergusson went to Carlisle on 1st January he could not see the Duke of Cumberland, because he was to set out for London early next morning. The reason of his departure was a threatened invasion from France, and Lieutenant-General Henry Hawley led the Government troops into Scotland. The hopes which the Duke of Queensberry expresses in his letter regarding General Hawley were not realised, for he had been defeated at the battle of Falkirk on 17th January, four days previous to the date of the Duke's letter, but the news does not seem to have reaced London when he wrote. The Duke of Cumberland rejoined the Government forces in the end of January, but it was not until 16th April that he joined issue with the Jacobite Army, and defeated it on Culloden Muir. With these latter events, and with the Prince's subsequent wanderings for fully five months among the mountains and seas of the West Highlands, we to-night have no special connection, and I do not propose to enter upon them.

Before closing, however, I would like to say a little regarding Drumlanrig Castle, although it is so well known to most of you that I need not trouble you with any exhaustive description of it. That imposing pile is built in rectangular form round an uncovered square, which is filled up in the centre until it reaches the level of the main floor, on which level it forms a large open flagged court. The main entrance is upon this floor, and is reached from a broad terrace formed in front of the house, and supported upon piers spanned by arches. Access to this terrace is obtained

by two semi-circular stone stairs, which evidently form "the front stair" mentioned in the letter of 28th December, because in the draft the word "front" is interlined, and immediately after the word "stair" the words "upon the front of the house" are deleted, and this was therefore the stair up which, according to Mr Fergusson's statement, the Highlanders "made a shift" to get their horses. The main door opens off the above-mentioned terrace into a corridor, which originally communicated with the inner court by several arches which have now been filled in with glass. Over this corridor was a large apartment originally used as a picture gallery, and I therefore fix upon the corridor as the place "under the gallery" where the Highlanders stabled their horses after getting them up the front stair. The court is now partly occupied by a chapel, but originally it was quite open, and there was a large doorway on the opposite side from the front door entering into an apartment, from the other side of which access was obtained to the garden by a stone staircase. This apartment, I think, is the "vestibule" where the sheep were killed, because there was originally adjoining it a large staircase which led to a fine apartment on the next floor, now used as a drawing-room, but which was then probably the main banqueting hall. It is rather difficult to determine what was the "low dining-room" mentioned by Mr Fergusson, but it was probably the room to the west of this staircase, which had originally direct communication with the kitchens. The space occupied by this staircase has now been formed into a service-room, and the vestibule and a room to the east have now been thrown together and form the dining-room, and a room still further to the east is now occupied by the present main staircase. The basement storey is occupied by the kitchen premises and servants' apartments, and there is access from it to all parts of the house by four circular stairs, which ascend at each of the four corners of the inner court. The stair at the south-west angle formed the access from the kitchens to the room which I have indicated as the low dining-room, but the doorway between that room and the stair has now been built up. With regard to the pictures at Drumlanrig, there is a tradition that the Highlanders cut the portraits of King William, Queen Mary, and Queen Anne with their swords and dirks, and certainly these pictures do bear evidence of some slight ill-treatment of this kind, but it is curious that in his letters Mr Fergusson does not mention this fact (if,

indeed, it be true), although he enters into the minor details of tables and chairs, and bed and table linen. All that he refers to is the defacing of the pictures by some liquid or other, and it is evident from their present state that this damage was able to be repaired, doubtless by some "skilful hand," in terms of the Duke's instructions. At Drumlanrig there is a bed which is said to be the one upon which Prince Charlie slept in Dumfries. It is a four-posted bed, made of rosewood; the foot is ornamented with brass fillagree work, and the posts are formed of alternate rings of brass, and tastefully turned rosewood, joined together very probably by an internal iron rod.

16th April, 1895.

A meeting, organised by the Society to welcome one of its members, Mr G. F. Scott-Elliot, F.L.S., F.R.G.S., on returning from Uganda and Central Africa, and to hear from him an account of his travels, was held in Greyfriars' Hall, under the chairmanship of Sir James Crichton-Browne, LL.D., F.R.S., the president of the Society. The hall was crowded by members and their friends. Dr Chinnock, hon. secretary of the Society, read letters of apology from Mr Thomas M'Kie, who is one of the vice-presidents, and Mr Maxwell of Munches.

Sir James Crichton-Browne then proceeded to offer Mr Scott-Elliot a cordial welcome on his safe return to his native country and district from perilous wanderings, and in eloquent terms to eulogise his work. We Dumfriesians were proud of Mr Scott Elliot, and he thought we had good reason to be so. We were proud of him because, although born to affluence, he early determined to "scorn delights and live laborious days." We were proud of him because he resisted the temptation to devote himself to a great commercial career, which was spread out before him, and chose to devote himself to the less remunerative and more arduous pursuit of science. We were proud of him because he had followed out his scientific studies in no dilettante spirit, but with such zeal and assiduity that he had already made his mark upon the biology of the day. And, above all, we were proud of him because, taking his life in his hand, he had gone out into the wilderness amongst savage nature and far more savage men to trace out for us some still undiscovered ups and downs on the crust of this world of ours, some still hidden mysteries in that

film of organic life with which that crust is coated—a film so faint and frail and fragile in comparison to the mass of the globe that it seemed as if, like the bloom on a ripe peach, the merest touch might brush it away and abolish it for ever ; but a film that was yet the enduring record of the ages, the supreme revelation of the Cosmos, the line of contact between the seen and the unseen universe. (Cheers.) Mr Scott-Elliot had paid to him in London what no doubt he regarded, and deservedly regarded, as a very distinguished compliment ten days ago, when at the close of his paper read before the Royal Geographical Society that doyen and prince of African explorers, Mr H. M. Stanley, complimented him on the excellence of his work and the modesty of his account of it. (Cheers.) Mr Stanley, of course, did not agree with all Mr Scott-Elliot's conclusions—and he had noticed that no two African explorers ever did agree with all each other's conclusions—(laughter)—but he was unstinted in his praise of the thoroughness of his research. He wished it had been possible that another great African traveller, second only to Mr Stanley —if, indeed, in some respects second to Mr Stanley—himself a Dumfriesshire man like Mr Scott-Elliot, could have been there to listen to his lecture, to criticise it, to extol its powers ; he meant, of course, Mr Joseph Thomson. He was sure they all greatly deplored the fact that Mr Joseph Thomson, after apparently recovering from a long and serious illness, had been again prostrated by an attack of influenza and pneumonia, and was now lying at Mentone. They all sincerely hoped that the improvement which was announced would be maintained, and that we should soon see him back in health among us. (Cheers.) Mr Thomson's illness two years ago came at a time when he was about to reap the reward of his great labours, and but for that illness he would now have been occupying a very important place in Africa. It would certainly have been an interesting feature if they could have had Mr Joseph Thomson and Mr Scott-Elliot on the platform together—both African explorers of proved merit, both Dumfriesshire men—and, by-the-bye, Mungo Park was a Dumfriesshire man—and both African explorers of the same type. Both had scientific objects in view ; and it was to their honour that their expeditions had been carried out without bloodshed. (Cheers.) We must not conclude that their efforts would have no other than scientific results ; for it was men like Mr Scott-Elliot who were doing a great national service by

opening up new outlets for commerce and for our increasing population. Without entering on the thorny and forbidden ground of controversial politics, he might say that one of the most ominous features of the day was the intensely parochial character of our politics as a whole, the way in which the democracy was intensely interested in local matters—in little petty, secondary questions like disestablishment here and local veto or local option there—while it was perfectly indifferent to questions of vital consequence and vast imperial importance. On these small islands we must buy bread if our teeming millions were to live, and in order that we may buy bread we must sell the products of our industry, and in order that we may sell the products of our industry we must have markets to send them to; and as the old markets were being gradually closed against us by hostile tariffs we must find new markets. We must either find new markets, or we must fight to open up the old ones, or we must starve. He did not think the people of this country would starve. He did not think we should have a war of tariffs. Then the real question of the day was the opening up of new markets. Let us find these, and the depression of trade which had been so long upon us would vanish like the morning dew. He thought if the people of Dumfries would insist on the connection with the ocean of the great interior waterway which Mr Scott-Elliot would no doubt tell them something about by the construction of the Mombasa railway, they would do something to bring back the prosperity of the country; and so intimately connected in these days were remote countries that the whistle of the steam engine on the Mombasa railway might be a blythe and cheerful sound in the homes of some working men in Dumfries. (Cheers.) Referring to the personal adventures of the explorer, Sir James said Mr Joseph Thomson, being once asked what was the most dangerous expedition he had ever undertaken, replied, "I believe it was crossing Piccadilly one afternoon at four o'clock in the height of the season." (Laughter.) So perhaps Mr Scott-Elliot might tell them that he was never in such jeopardy in Madagascar or Uganda as he was when he visited some closes in Dumfries and described their smells—(laughter)—for then the tongues of municipal authorities were turned on him like assegais, and the objurgations of owners of property were hurled at him like showers of arrows. (Laughter.) But he had often been in great danger, and had to trust to his ingenuity and resources. (Cheers.)

Mr Scott-Elliot was cordially cheered on rising to address the meeting. Having in a few words expressed the pleasure with which he found himself again in Dumfries, he addressed himself at once to the subject of his lecture. The funds for the expedition, he explained, were granted by the Royal Society of London; and he briefly sketched his route. This was from Mombasa, which he left on 8th November, 1893, to Lake Victoria Nyanza; thence across Uganda to Mount Ruwenzori, his objective point. This was reached on the 1st of April—a most inauspicious day, remarked the lecturer. On the return journey he passed down the interior, by Lakes Tanganyika and Nyassa, until he reached the coast at the mouth of the Zambesi. He gave a suggestive glance at the duties of the leader of such an expedition, who, in addition to his scientific observations, had to take his company of Swahili porters under his wing as if they were a large family and he the father, mother, and schoolmaster combined. One of the incidents of the outward march was the encountering of a body of Masai warriors, who proved very friendly, and subsequently falling in with one of their great encampments, it being the practice of the tribe to stay with their flocks and herds for about ten days in one place, and then move on to fresh pastures. Some of the young women, he mentioned, were almost unable to walk on account of the number of rings which they wore on their arms and legs. The Uganda plateau, with its small rolling hills and frequent marshes, and Ruwenzori (which he ascended to a height of 13,500 feet), with its three distinct zones of vegetation, were described in some detail; and an account given of the persecution to which the timid tribes inhabiting the land to the west of the mountain have been subjected. He observed that two Europeans with a force of perhaps 150 native soldiers, at an expenditure of perhaps £1500 a year, would bring peace and prosperity to the whole of the tribes around that mountain. That would not be a large sum for a nation like our own to spend; and the country which would thus be secured contained a great expanse of rich virgin soil, covered with dense forest, and having a permanent and abundant water supply. Mr Scott-Elliot bestowed a good deal of attention on the river Kagera with the view of determining how far it is navigatable and therefore available as a connecting link between Tanganyika and the Victoria Nyanza, into which it flows. He found it navigable to a point about forty miles from the head of Tanganyika; and he pointed out that, making use of the chain

of lakes, the Kagera and the Nile, you would have a water way from the mouth of the Zambesi right to Cairo, interrupted only by land carriage for a very short distance. It had been his ideal for many years to see the country inside that chain entirely in the hands of England, Italy, and Egypt. The German territory might safely be left out of consideration, because if the Germans did succeed in colonising it, they were on the whole friendly to ourselves. He saw no reason why this enormous stretch of Africa, practically one third of the continent, should not be given up to British enterprise. (Cheers.) He was not against a railway to Mombasa by any means, if he could see any prospect of one being constructed; but the cost was estimated at three and a half millions sterling. As far as he had been able to calculate it, the series of steamers and railways which were necessary along the route which he had indicated would cost very much less; and whereas the railway from Mombasa would only open up our own possessions, this route would open up the whole continent, and practically it would destroy the slave trade. (Cheers.) In the district of Bugufu, which had not before been visited by a European, Mr Scott-Elliot was regarded as a person who had descended from the gods, and treated with becoming honour; but in Burundi he had a different experience, frequently feeling himself in great danger from the large troops of armed men who persistently accompanied the little party of forty under his care, and experiencing also great difficulty in obtaining food supplies. Of the Ullambzene, Kikuyu, and Masai country, stretching from 250 miles of the coast to a few miles of the Victoria Nyanza, the lecturer spoke highly as a field for colonisation, being healthy, extremely fertile, and of enormous extent. It was destined in the future, he thought, to be a British colony, of perhaps the same importance as Cape Colony and Natal together. Regarding the countries bordering the Victoria Nyanza, he observed that we had here a tremendous market and a very excellent prospect of a good supply of the products which we wanted. Surely, then, it was our duty simply to take what was offered to us; but by some curious kind of timidity the Government were said to have publicly declared that they would confine themselves to Uganda, leaving out altogether Usoga, Kavirondo, Toru, and Unyoro, well peopled, fertile, rich countries, all of which are subject to Uganda, and could be kept up at very little more expense than would be incurred in keeping up

Uganda; and the people themselves were very anxious to be under European protection. Another thing which made one very unhappy was that there seemed to be some arrangement by which the Belgians were to get territory to the north. They had done nothing to deserve it, and there was no reason why we should give to the Congo Free State or the Belgians a portion of our future line of communication. The lecturer also deprecated the continuance of Arab influence in the government of that region by managing it through the Sultan of Zanzibar. Coming down to the south of Lake Nyassa, Mr Scott-Elliot said he would recommend the country along the Stevenson Road, along with the one mentioned on the Victoria Nyanza, as well adapted for European settlement. It was healthy, and one could buy at present as many acres as you pleased for a pocket handkerchief.

A series of photographs of natives and views of scenery were then thrown upon the screen; and a number of weapons and articles of native manufacture were on view.

Mr Maxwell, M.P., proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Mr Scott-Elliot for his lecture.

10*th May*, 1895.

The Rev. WILLIAM ANDSON, Vice-President, in the Chair.

New Members.—Messrs J. J. Cowan, Eliock, Sanquhar; John Davidson, Crichton Institution; Robert Gordon, London; Matthew Jamieson, Craigelvin; Walter H. Scott, Nunfield.

Donations.—Report of the Berwickshire Field Club, 1893; Stirling Natural History and Archæological Society's Report, 1894.

Exhibits.—Mr George Neilson exhibited a document belonging to the borough of Annan, dated 1612, being a renewal by James VI. of the Charter granted by his grandfather, James V. This document, Mr Neilson assumes, may have been used in a process and been misplaced, so that it got into other hands than those of the rightful owners.

COMMUNICATIONS.

1. *Notes written in the Forest of Ruwenzori, Uganda.*

By GEORGE F. SCOTT-ELLIOT, M.A., F.R.G.S.

What are the chief characteristics of a humid forest such as one

finds in tropical climates? Let us take, for instance, the cloud-forest of Ruwenzori, where these thoughts first came to my mind. Almost every day the moisture derived from the lower-lying lands and swamps hangs as a thick mist or cloud over the mountain side from 7400 to 8600 feet. When one enters this forest one is struck by the abundance of ferns. The most lovely sprays of maiden-hair hang from the banks, and ferns of all kinds, from the tall branched frond five feet high to the tiny filmy fern on the under side of a moss-covered rock, or the tongue-like forms covering old mossy and half decaying trees, abound everywhere. One is next impressed by the English character of some of the plants. A graceful meadow rue grows everywhere, and sanicle is common all over the forest. There is also a very English cerastium and others which are near our own familiar forms. After this, one is, I think, most impressed by the enormous number of climbers. They are of all sorts. Some are scarcely true climbers, but seem to have been carried up by mistake, so to speak, with the growth of the trees on which they depend. Where the natives have cut away some of the trees it is usual to find a solitary trunk with a screen of inextricably mixed climbing plants, forming a sort of bell round its stem. The next thing that strikes me is the darkness, and the rarity of insect life. In an ordinary forest the paths are alive with gorgeous butterflies. Slender-waisted hornets and dragon flies are always hovering about, but here it is all dim light and silence. A peculiarity of the leaves cannot fail to impress one. They are large, sometimes enormous, and almost invariably take on a cordate shape. They are also thin and membraneous, not thick and hard. There are very few thorny plants in the forest. There is the inevitable smilax, and one or two plants which have long branches and thorns, by which these latter are supported, but this is unusual. One also cannot fail to be struck by one or two composites, senecios and veronias, which have become trees with trunks six inches or more in diameter. Thus in this forest we have to explain the following curious features—first, the abundance of ferns, the English character of the plants, the quantity of climbers, large thin cordate leaves, and some forms becoming trees which are usually herbs. Some of these are very easy to understand—thus, the dim light and humid atmosphere are exactly what ferns delight in. Some say that this sort of atmosphere and light was the climate of the primordial age in which plants took their orders, and certainly

all over the world ferns (cryptogams, &c., lower in the scale than flowering plants) are chiefly found in it. The English character is very interesting. To find a thalictrum under the line means that at some time a chain of European climates, perhaps as mountain tops, extended from Europe to Central Africa, or that by some extraordinary shifting of seas, or of the earth's axis, a temperate climate extended all over Africa north of the Equator. Of course one may say that a bird in its migration brought these seeds, and that, the climate being favourable, they grew and flourished. The other characteristics are more interesting to explain. If one grows a plant in the shade the effect of moisture and the absence of light is to produce a long drawn out stem and distant leaves; thus a daisy grown in wet shade will produce a long stem with leaves scattered along it instead of a tuft of leaves. Now, such a long drawn out stem, the top of which will (in accordance with known laws of growth) rotate, is simply nothing but an embryo climber, and hence we can understand how so many plants have taken in the climbing habit, and many others by growing long branches are caught and upheld by other plants, are, of course, directly induced to do this by the same reason. This climbing habit is one eminently suitable to a forest, and thus Nature has directly produced the most favourable form. The cordate form of leaves is one most often associated with climbing plants, and seems to depend on the length of the petiole and the hang of the leaf, but the explanation of this form has not been given as yet. The large, thin, membraneous character is, however, directly produced by the absence of strong sunlight, which, by forming a strong cuticle outside the leaves, prevents its extension. This thin, membraneous character and large size, as well as the length of the internodes, are again all directly favourable to the conditions, for the light is very diffused, and the larger the leaf the more it will catch. The object of the leaf is not to avoid being scorched, as in a sunny climate, moreover, the more spaced the leaves the less they will interfere with one another. The trees senecios and veronias have simply taken to forming tree stems instead of climbing stems like their relations (millanias, &c.). There are few thorns, probably because a cold, wet climate is unfavourable to their production, just as a hot, dry climate tends to produce them in the most unusual orders of plants. There are also very few antelopes or leaf-feeding beasts of any kind, so far as I know.

Another characteristic is the tendency of the flowers to become a white or pale colour, and often of very large size, while they are usually few in number. The pale colour is, of course, due to the absence of strong sunlight, and is again an instance of the peculiar way in which Nature works, for this colour is most conspicuous in the dimness, and is the best the plant could possibly choose. The same may be said of the large size. It is certainly true that many trees have small inconspicuous flowers, but these are fertilised by the small sorts of insects that thrive everywhere, and are unaffected by climate. I mean that some members at least are found everywhere. There is, however, an absence of the brilliant colours and dense spikes which are found in dry, sunny places, where bees, hymenoptera of all kinds, and hoverflies are found. These latter insects are remarkably absent in this forest, probably because the chill, moist atmosphere is bad for their wings. The most extraordinary feature of all is that in so many respects Nature by climate produces exactly that form best suited to thrive in that particular climate, and in almost all cases we cannot trace any connection between the two. I mean the fact that a dim, humid climate produces a drawn out stem, has no connection (visible) with the fact that a climbing plant is well fitted to thrive in such a place.

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2. *Food Plants—The Cereals.*

By Mr Peter Gray.

The principal grasses cultivated as bread plants by the more civilized races of mankind are four in number—wheat, barley, rye, and oats. Of these the wheat plant, *Triticum sativum*, is the most important. There are three species, or more properly perhaps sub-species, of *Triticum* grown in Europe—*Triticum sativum*, *turgidum*, and *durum*. The first includes nearly all the cultivated varieties grown in this country, over a hundred red and about half that number of white wheats, so named from the colour of the grain. The turgid wheats have a bearded spike, but being best adapted for earlier climates, they have not been much cultivated in Britain. The ears of the third division are also bearded, and usually very short in proportion to their breadth, with a remarkably hard grain. They are grown chiefly

in the Levant, and cooked in the same manner as rice. Four other sub-species not grown in England are *Triticum Polonicum*, called Polish wheat, although probably of African origin; *Triticum amylleum*, starch wheat; and *Triticum monococcum*, one grained wheat.

The sub-species of oats *(Avena)* cultivated for grain are four in number, of which the most variable is the common oat *(Avena sativa)*, some fifty varieties of which are grown in Britain, most productively in the northern or more elevated parts. The others are the Tartarian oat *(Avena orientalis)*; the short oat *(Avena brevis)*, grown almost exclusively in the most mountainous districts of France and Spain; and the naked oat *(Avena nuda)*.

Barley, besides being probably the oldest, is the most widely cultivated of the cereals, its tillage extending from the tropics to northern Norway and Siberia, accompanied in boreal extension by the oat, which, however, does not reach quite so far north. In the extreme northern county of Scotland the eastern coast is richly manured with the abundant offal of the herring fishery, and there where wheat will not ripen, luxuriant crops of barley are grown, nearly altogether utilized in the production of the cup that cheers, but also inebriates, the Caledonian Celt, and the Circean charms of which his southern compatriots are not always able to resist. Barley may be divided into four sub-species—*Hordeum vulgare*, four-rowed; *Hordeum hexastichon*, six-rowed; *Hordeum zeocitron*, fan or battledore; and *Hordeum distichon*, two-rowed or long-eared barley.

Rye *(Secale cercale)* was once extensively cultivated in Britain as a bread corn. It is, however, now almost discarded here, but on the continent, especially in those parts of Russia and the adjacent countries which are unsuited for growing wheat, it still furnishes almost the only bread eaten by the inhabitants, and which, though less nutritious than that made from wheat, is found to keep longer. It is also employed as a substitute for coffee.

The tracts in the northern hemisphere in which the four cereals under consideration can be grown have irregular boundaries, modified by local conditions, like the thermal zones. North of the breadline, as Schouw terms it, lie the polar countries, where dried fish takes the place of bread.

The highest of the cereal zones in Europe is, as has been already indicated, that of barley and oats, which extend from

70 deg. (north latitude) to 65 deg. in Scotland, in Ireland to 52 deg.; the north and south limits of this zone being determined according to the varying distances of the sea.

The zone of rye occupies the greater part of Europe north of the Alps; but on the west side wheat is the predominant bread-stuff.

The zone of wheat extends from the boundary of the zone of rye (50° to 58° north latitude) southwards to the African desert, including, besides Great Britain and France, the whole of southern Europe and the north of Africa.

Rice *(Oryza Sativa)* supplies food to a much greater number of the human race than any other cereal. Throughout China, India, and many other regions of Asia and of Africa, it forms the principal and almost the only food of the people. It is less nutritive than any of the cereal grains. About 40 or 50 varieties of rice are known and cultivated. Rice is a marsh plant, and can only be successfully grown where the ground may be inundated during the early period of its growth; it requires also a higher temperature than the others, excepting maize. Its highest northern limit in Europe is Lombardy, where maize is also grown.

Maize or Indian corn *(Zea mays)* ranks next to rice in the number of human beings it feeds. Systematists make of the genus to which it belongs five species, all of which are natives of South America. Indian corn is now cultivated in every quarter of the globe. It is largely consumed in England, nearly four millions of quarters having been introduced into this country annually in the beginning of the current decade, and there has certainly been no diminution since. Polenta or maize meal porridge has become almost the national dish of the Italian peasantry. Maize is considered the most fattening of all the cereals.

Besides these staple grain-producing grasses, there are a number of others, scarcely, if at all known in England, which furnish food to populous communities abroad. Among these are several species of Holcus. The seeds of Holcus succharatum, somewhat extensively used for sugar-making, are eaten in Africa under the name of dochna. Holcus Sorghum produces a grain largely employed as food in Africa and other countries under the names of Guinea corn, duna, and Turkish millet. It has been employed in this country for feeding poultry. In the Soudan the German naturalist, Werner, found this grain with stalks fifteen and twenty

feet in height, and standing so close that it was difficult to force a way between the stalks. The yield was fifteen and eighteen fold.

A species of Eleusine is cultivated in Japan and some parts of India as a corn crop. Panicum miliaceum (Indian millet), Panicum pilosum (Chadlee), and Panicum frumentaceum are also cultivated in India, yielding a nutritious grain. Paspalum exile produces fundi, or fundungi, the smallest known grain. The grains of Pennisatum dichotomum, another grass, are used in the same region as food under the name of Kasheia. The Abyssinian corn plant, teff, is known to science as Poa Abyssinica. German millet is produced by Setaria Germanica, and Italian millet by Setaria Italica, both largely used as food. The seeds of Zizania aquatica are popularly known in Canada as swamp rice, a serviceable grain. Glyceria or Poa aquatica (Manna grass) is a singular example of the seeds of a wild grass used as food. Sir William Hooker, in his "British Flora," tells us that they are gathered abundantly in Holland, where as well as in Poland and Germany, they are used as food, and he quotes de Theis as having "seen the Polanders in the suite of King Stanislaus gather them with great care on the banks of the Meurthe."

With all this the list of cereal grasses is not nearly exhausted; indeed, with one or two exceptions, the seeds of all the species of the numerous natural order of Gramineæ are edible, the only apparent obstacle to the profitable cultivation of the plants that produce them being their diminutive size, which might probably be increased by cultivation.

But a notice, however brief, of the food products from the cereals would be incomplete without a reference to some of the beverages they furnish, several of which are of great antiquity. For some reason, religious or climatic, the vine was not cultivated in ancient Egypt, although in modern times at least it is extensively grown in Nubia. The Egyptians, according to Herodotus, used a substitute made from barley, a sort of beer. In other parts of Africa malt liquor of one kind or another is brewed by the natives from some one or other of the cereal grasses. The seeds of Holcus Sorghum are used in Africa in the manufacture of a kind of beer, bearing the appropriate name of bouza. Barley, we all know, is extensively employed in this country in the manufacture of beer as well as whisky. From rice a spirit is also distilled in the east, generally known as arrack,

although that name is more correctly applied to a spirit distilled from the palm, known also as toddy. Quass, or rye beer, made from common rye *(Secale cercale)* is a favourite drink in Russia. In Sikkim a kind of beer, which is in common use among the natives, is made from Eleusine coracana, a species of millet. The Tartars also prepare a kind of beer from another plant of the same genus, styling the beverage bouza, and the Abyssinians make a similar drink under the same name from Poa Abyssinica.

Beer is of ancient origin among the northern nations. Mum, a word which still occurs even in modern excise acts, is the name of a species of that liquor still made in Germany. It was a favourite Anglo-Saxon drink, and probably only partially fermented, like that used in Orkney, which is prepared in open vessels. A beer, also most likely of this class, was, according to Tacitus, the chief beverage of the ancient Germans. When the Ten Thousand in their famous retreat were quartered in the mountain villages of Armenia, they found, Xenophon tells us, "beer in jars, in which the malt floated level with the brims of the vessels, and with it reeds, some large and others small, without joints. These, when anyone was dry, he was to take into his mouth and suck. The liquor was very strong, when unmixed with water, and exceedingly pleasant to those who were used to it."

The practice of distillation is probably less ancient than that of fermentation; but the Arabians, from a very early period, and, later, Greeks and Romans, prepared aromatic water by this process. The ancient Egyptians, near neighbours of the Arabians, and skilled in all arts, prepared a liquor upon which a Roman Emperor, the philosophic Julian, wrote an epigram,* and which, from the description, must have been some kind of corn spirit.

* This epigram of Julian, probably written when he was Cæsar in Gaul, is found the Anthologia Palatina, vol. ix., 368. It was given by Erasmus in his "Adagia," with a very poor Latin translation. As it has not been hitherto rendered into English, I here append a translation :— "To wine made from barley. O Dionysus, who art thou and whence? for I swear by the real Bacchus I do not recognise thee. The son of Zeus alone I know. He is redolent of nectar thou of porridge. Verily, the Celts have made thee from ears of corn, through lack of grapes. Therefore we ought to call thee Demetrius, not Dionysus, Pūrogenes (wheat-born), and Bromus (a kind of oats), not Bromius." Evidently Julian was not a bad punster. To understand the puns it is necessity to remember that Bacchus or Dionysus, the god of wine, was called Pūrogenes (fire-born), and that he is often called Bromius (noisy). Demetrius means *belonging to Demeter*, the Greek name for Ceres.—Editor.

If, in one direction more than another, the ingenuity of mankind has been exercised in seeking out many inventions, it is in that of beverages, even more than in foods. Their name is legion. Chemists tell us that we may make whisky out of an old shirt, and, short of that, almost every vegetable substance has been utilised in the manufacture of drink. The fermented juice of the grape is the most ancient as well as, when containing no more alcohol than the natural product of fermentation, the most wholesome and the safest of all. Other fruits—the apple, pear, cherry, orange, &c.—furnish savoury and more or less stimulating beverages. Leaving out of view tea, coffee, cocoa, maté, and other simple vegetable infusions, with ginger ale and the other depressing beverages of its class, we find the South American Indians making a highly intoxicating drink from the juice of a species of aloe, the East Indians an alcoholic liquor from the sap of the palm, and the nations of Northern Europe another from that of the white birch. Brandy is distilled from the grape, rum from molasses, and mead, "the pure beverage of the bee," the nectar of the heroes of the Valhalla, is brewed from honey. The South Sea Islanders prepare ava or cava from the large rhizomes of Macropiper methysticum, a species of pepper, in a peculiarly repulsive way. The old women sit round a tub—the cava bowl—there is one at Kew as big as a canoe, chewing the root and spitting it into the tub. When enough has been masticated water is added, and the mixture well stirred. It is then handed round to the guests. The Kamschatdales intoxicate themselves with a very poisonous fungus, a variety of Amanita muscaria, an infusion of which in milk is used in this country for killing flies. The usual way of taking it is to roll it up like a bolus and swallow it without chewing. One large or two small fungi will, we are told, produce a pleasant intoxication for a whole day, particularly if water be taken after it, the desired effect coming from one to two hours after swallowing the fungus. Steeped in the juice of vaccinium uliginosum, also a British plant, its effects are like those of strong wine. Wood betany, a rare plant in Scotland, but found sparingly in this district, is, when chewed, slightly intoxicating. It was formerly much used in medicine, but it is discarded from modern practice. Notwithstanding this neglect, it is, Withering says, not destitute of virtues, among which he instances that of being intoxicating when fresh.

3. *Old Annan.* By George Neilson, F.S.A., Scot.

1. *Origin.*

The ancient and royal burgh of Annan has few prehistoric memories; its past becomes impenetrable in the 12th century. Its earliest inhabitants have left no reminiscences in flint arrows, bronze spears, or funeral urns. No storied altar, no memorial of the dead attests a Roman settlement. Some places have their chronicle in stone, their history in their buildings, but Annan has no antique architecture. The Moat is its sole ancient monument. Archæology, apart from records, can do little to raise the old place and people from the grave. But a fragmentary memory has been conserved in charters and musty histories, wofully incomplete, except for imaginations which can build up Hercules from his footprint. The records pieced together, with many a void between, make but a meagre outline far too faint to bid the past return in "bannered pomp" again.

The town arose, we know not when, on a gentle slope swelling slowly to south and east and north, whilst the unbridged river, fordable above and below, kept ceaseless watch upon the west. Fertile fields lay round, rich pasture holms were spread below. The river was more than a river—twice a day it was an arm of the sea, and both the Annan water and the tide of the Solway yielded a harvest not less surely than the fields.

As a place-name we may be sure that the river had the priority, that Annan town was so called from Annan water. This appears to have been the case in a few other instances in Scotland. The absolute identity of town-name and river-name is, however, a relatively rare thing. What Annan as a word means no one can tell. There are no collateral examples sufficiently similar, and Celtic etymology, unsupported by parallel cases capable of something like proof, is a mere Will-of-the-wisp. We can guess with some measure of probability that Lochmaben either means the loch cluster, or the loch of Mabon—that Arthurian shade. We know that Lockerbie—spelt in 1198 Locardebi*—derives its name from the family of Locard, which, for a time represented in the court of the early Bruces, ultimately took root in Clydesdale. Ecclefechan is called after an Irish saint. But Moffat and Annan are both unsolved, and to all intents insoluble puzzles.

*Bain's *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, i. 2666.

It is true that Celtic etymologists long ago explained the words to their own satisfaction, but they could have explained Nebuchadnezzar on similar principles with as little difficulty.

II. *Earliest Charter References* (After 1124).

Soon after 1124 when David I. gave Annandale to Robert de Brus, he granted* to him "that land and its castle" *illam terram et suum castellum*.† There is doubt whether this refers to Lochmaben or to Annan, but the latter town has a reasonable claim. There is evidence from an English source that the castle of "Anant" *(castellum de Anant)* was held ‡ by William the Lion in 1173 in his war with Henry II.

Numismatists § tell us that under Alexander II. coins were minted at Annan. Their proof, which is by no means so strong as to exclude robust scepticism, exists in silver. Stamped on one side with the words "Johannes on An" and "Tomas on An" to indicate first the coiner and second the place of issue,‖ these Annan pennies, as they are called, bear on the other side the effigy of Alexander II. In the 13th century charters¶ we see public courts held at Annan; the land is measured and conveyed by carucates and oxgangs; granges and areas and tofts are specified; the town is referred to almost always as a vill; the gallows, that stern symbol of justice, is mentioned; a constable and a clerk are alluded to; and we hear of townsmen bearing names still known—such as Johnstone, Skelton, and French.

It is a little odd that no great cathedral or monastery was ever raised within the bounds of Annandale. Robert de Brus founded

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* *National MSS. Scotland*, Vol. i. No. xix.

†*Castellum* at that date was most likely to mean not a castle but a fort. For instances see *Round's Geoffrey de Mandeville*, 328-346, and—applied to Carlisle Keep—my article in *Notes and Queries*, 8th series, viii., 321.

‡*Benedictus Abbas* (Rolls Series), i. 48. See also *Palgrave's Documents and Records*, i. 77, and *Bain's Calendar*, ii., p. 117. The fragment in Palgrave is evidently to much the same effect as Benedictus Abbas, and does not, I think, convey the meaning Mr Bain has taken from it that King Henry had possession of the fortress.

§*Cardonnel's Numismata Scotiae*, p. 44, plate 1. *Cochran Patrick's Records of Coinage of Scotland*, introd. p. xliv.

‖"An," thought to be a contraction for Anand.

¶Details shewn by these documents are beyond the scope of this paper. Charters referred to will be found in *Bain's Calendar*, i. 606 (of late 12th or early 13th century), 704 (about 1218), 1763 (about 1249), 705, 1680, 1681, 1685 (of about 1260-1280). As regards these last dates, see *Scots Lore*, 129-130.

the Priory of Guisborough in 1119, and the Brus family* in Annandale, as elsewhere, reserved their generosity for that house. Otherwise Annan might have become the seat of a bishopric or great monastic institution.

III. *St. Malachi's Curse* (1148).

One ancient legend breaks the monotony of the earliest annals of Annan. Its narrator† was the writer of the Chronicle of Lanercost,‡ believed to have been a Minorite Friar of Carlisle.

Malachi O'Morgair, a renowned Irish bishop of great sanctity, afterwards canonized, was passing through Annandale on a journey towards Rome. Probabilities point to 1148 as the date. On his way he paused for rest and refection at Annan, which the chronicler tells us was a small town, the capital of the district, *Anandia capitanea illius patriae villula.* Inquiring where he could best seek hospitality he was directed to the hall *(aula)* of the lord of the place, Robert de Brus, son of the original grantee of Annandale. A robber was on the point of being hanged. On this coming to St. Malachi's ears as he sat under the Brus's roof, he said to the Brus that the judgment of blood had never yet desecrated his presence, and he claimed as a pilgrim that Brus should grant him the malefactor's life. To this Brus, by a nod, seemingly consented, but quietly went outside and ordered the thief to be hanged there and then. When St. Malachi resumed his journey he saw the dead body dangling on the neighbouring gallows. The saint had, before setting out, invoked a blessing on the Brucè and all his house. This spectacle caused a revulsion of feeling ; the blessing was revoked and a curse denounced instead. This strange narrative, whilst incidentally styling Annan a city, adds the remarkable observation that in consequence of the saint's malediction not only did the descendants of Brus long suffer a blight but the town itself, Annan, "lost the honour of a burgh."

The miraculous element in the story concerns us little here, but it is too interesting to be passed without notice. The curse of the saint the chronicler assures us, lay on the line of Brus for several

*See this remarked upon in Guisborough Chartulary (Surtees Society), pref. xvii.

†The story has been dealt with in detail in my article, entitled "Saint Malachi's Curse," *Scots Lore*, p. 124.

‡*Chronicon de Lanercost* (Maitland Club), 160-161.

generations until, indeed, the accession to the lordship of Robert the Competitor, grandfather of King Robert the Bruce. The Competitor appeased the indignation of the injured bishop, atoned for the offences of his ancestor, "for ever made his peace with the saint, and provided a perpetual rent, from which three silver lamps with their lights are maintained on the saint's tomb." So said the chronicler, and his veracity has been singularly confirmed by the discovery of the actual charter* granted in 1273 by Robert de Brus to the monks of Clairvaux—*ad sustinendum luminare coram beato Malachia*—for the lights of St. Malachi's shrine.

This curious tale merits respectful consideration. The hagiologist cannot fail to see in it a narrative containing no improbability either in the nature of the claim to a kind of sanctuary privilege put forward by the saint,† or in the events which followed the deception alleged to have been practised by the Brus. And he will rightly insist on the Clairvaux charter as a triumphant corroboration. For the student of Annan's municipal history, however, a special interest must attach to the chronicler's allusion to that town first as a city *(civitas)*, and subsequently as having forfeited the honour of a burgh—*villula quae burgi amisit honorem.* Written about 1346, what did that sentence mean? Did it convey the fact that Annan was then not a burgh? Did it in the same breath register another fact that Annan had once possessed the full burghal standing. The status of Annan of old, and the date and circumstance of its constitution or erection as a royal burgh, are problems of historic interest. Strangely enough the curse of St. Malachi ranks as a not inconsiderable factor in the issue.

IV. *The Church—St. Mary of Anand.*

That Robert de Brus, who incurred the curse of St. Malachi, had in 1141 succeeded his father, Robert de Brus, in the lands of

*It is printed in "O'Hanlon's Life of St. Malachi" (1859), p. 194, also in *Scots Lore*, p. 127.

†A similar right was granted to and exercised by more than one religious body in England. See *Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church*, book ii., chap. 8; *Chronicon Monasterii de Bello*, 1846, p. 24; *Adam de Murimuth* (continuation), p. 199, ed. English Historical Society; *Gale's Scriptores XX.*, p. 320, *Magna Vita Hugonis* (R.S.), 277-279, preface lxxii.

Annandale, if, indeed, he had not been given possession* by 1138. Between that time and the middle of the century he received† from the Bishop of Glasgow a concession of the bishopric's lands of "Stratanant" or Annandale. A little later the church of "Anant" with others in Annandale was granted to the monastery of Guisborough—the church of St. Mary of Guisborough—founded as we have seen by the Brus family in 1119. The confirmation of this gift by William de Brus‡ is still extant,§ ratifying the donation which his father, Robert de Brus, had made. The date of the original grant to Guisborough is uncertain; possibly it was near 1171,[1] not far from the time when across the Solway Hugh de Morville was similarly founding the church of Burgh-on-Sands, which perhaps, as will be seen, it architecturally resembled. To about that date, at least, the erection of the church of St. Mary[2] of Anand is to be assigned. The grant to Guisborough was frequently confirmed.[3] The relations, however, between the canons there and the bishops of Glasgow led to controversies, one stage of which was ended in 1189 by an agreement ratified by King William the Lion.[4] Another and larger question was adjusted in 1223 by arbitration. In terms of the arbiters' ruling, the Canons on the one hand granted[5] to the Bishop of Glasgow and his successors the ordination and collation—the rights of patronage—of Annan Church. On the other hand, the decree determined[6] that the teind sheaves of corn of Annan Church were to go to the canons for their own uses, whilst all the other profits (with the exception of 3 marks a year to sustain the church lights) were to go to the rector for the time for his uses. This was modified in 1265 when, "on account of the intolerable deficiency of the rector's portion" the canons granted[7] an augmentation to it

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**Dugdale's Monasticon* (1846), vi., 267.
†*Bain's Cal.*, i., 30.
‡Lord of Annandale, 1191-1215.
§*Guisborough Chart.*, ii., 1176.
[1] *Nicolson and Burn's Cumberland and Westmorland*, ii., 219.
[2] For this name see *Bain's Cal.*, i., 1681.
[3] William de Brus's confirmation (*Guisb. Chart.*, ii., 1176) was confirmed by William the Lion (*Ibid.* ii., 1177); other confirmations were by Robert de Brus *tertius* (*Ibid.* ii., 1178), by Robert de Brus *quartus* the competitor (*Ibid.* ii., 1179), and by Robert de Brus his son, father of King Robert (*Ibid.* ii., 1180).
[4] *Guisb. Chart.*, ii., 1183, 1182; *Bain's Cal.*, i., 197; *Registrum Glasg.*, i., pp. 64-65.
[5] *Reg. Glasg.*, i., p. 107.
[6] *Guisb. Chart.*, ii., 1185, 1184; *Reg. Glasg.*, i., p. 105.
[7] *Guisb. Chart.*, ii., 1188.

of forty shillings a year. Arrangements were made at the same time, specifying the conditions of payment, and it was expressly acknowledged that the rectors were ecclesiastically subject to the bishop. The adjustment so effected was long the actual basis of things, and was the subject of repeated ratifications.* In 1273, the Bishop of Glasgow transferred† his rights to the dean and chapter of his diocese. In 1275 the rectory was returned‡ in Bagimond's roll as worth £4 a year. Robert de Brus, the Competitor, manifested the family's hereditary generosity by a gift§ to the canons of a meadow near the grange or barn in the fields of the vill of Annan—*in campis villæ de Anandia*: a phrase plainly suggestive of a community with considerable common fields—towards the south, of which meadow for a time the canons by their procurator had been his tenants, at a rent of two shillings a year. With the confirmation‖ of this grant by his son Robert, father of King Robert, the charters of the Annandale family of Brus to Guisborough appear to terminate, although it is impossible to avoid thinking that after the accession of King Robert the ancestral connexion of the dynasty with the monastery may have preserved¶ to the latter its Annandale possessions, longer than usual in similar cases, from the wrench caused by the war of independence.

V. *Progress and Status* (1296).

As the 13th century drew to a close, Annan's days of peace were rapidly running out. It will be well to consider the status of the town in the height of the long prosperity which international warfare was so soon to blast. The mention of Annan as a city was dismissed with a smile. The chronicler cannot have used the word in any technical sense. That he employed it to denote a considerable community is, however, an essentially reasonable, and indeed necessary, proposition. The facts already given, the castle or hall, the supposed mint, the varied indica-

*In 1265, 1273, 1300, and 1330. *Guisb. Chart.*, ii. 1188.
†*Reg. Glasg.*, i., p. 186.
‡*Reg. Glas.*, i., pref. lxv.
§*Guisb. Chart.*, ii., 1181.
‖*Guisb. Chart.*, ii., 1180.
¶This is strongly suggested by the confirmation of 1330 above referred to.

tions of the charters—these are decisive to show that Annan, usually denominated a "vill" or minor town, was before the last decade of the 13th century of very respectable size and importance. But, will be asked, was it a "burgh"—that word so complex in meanings, and so hard* to define? Both Annan and Lochmaben were called "burghs" in 1296, although under circumstances† apparently implying that royal burghs they were not. The rents of them then belonged to Brus, not to the Crown. Their tenure seemingly was from Brus, not from the king. Still, Annan must have been a goodly town when the first brunt of warfare fell upon it. Then the clouds darkened over its fair prospect of progress—clouds which, save for a brief interval, were not to lift for long. With this outlook, ends the first period of Annan's history, its epoch of peace.

VI. *The beginning of the War* (1295).

Symptoms of coming tribulation manifested themselves before hostilities began. Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale, and father of the future king, occupied an ambiguous position. He had hopes from the English King, and self-interest did not in those days help a man to be a patriot. In the national crisis when the stern Plantagenet was on his way north, the Scots Parliament declared that not only the partisans of England, but also all time-servers and neutrals, were public enemies and traitors. Their lands accordingly were confiscated. Brus maintained his attitude of neutrality, and therefore suffered the threatened penalty. When the conqueror of Wales was on the march for Scotland, it was no time for patriotic Scotsmen to stand upon ceremony regarding the formality of a confiscation. Annandale was granted to John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, who took possession of Lochmaben Castle. Walter of Hemingburgh, an early English historian, was a canon of Guisbrough. As we have seen, the teinds of several Annandale parishes, including Annan, belonged to his monastery. He tells that Buchan entered into possession of the Brus's lands;‡ and he adds, with a special personal interest in the matter, that "he caused to be carried off and forcibly retained without payment all our teinds of said lands for the munition of Lochmaben."

**Pollock and Maitland's History of English Law*, i. 653.

†*Bain's Calendar*, ii., 826.

‡*Walter of Hemingburgh* (Eng. Hist. Soc.) p. 90.

The Scottish warlike preparations came to nothing. The spoliation of Guisbrough teinds was probably the first visible sign in Annan of the gathering trouble. The war of independence broke out in 1296. Carlisle was assailed, but with ill-success, by the Scottish earls. In revenge, Berwick was stormed, and with pitiless severity its inhabitants slain. At Dunbar the Scottish army, and with it all apparent hope of freedom, was crushed.

VII. *The Battle of Annan Moor* (1297).

In 1297 the fury of the war storm first broke on Annan town. Wallace, by his victory at Stirling Bridge, had roused the flagging spirit of his country; he had swept the English before his impetuous energy; castle after castle fell, and their garrisons fled. In a few short weeks he had redeemed the honour and liberty of the nation. He even carried the war into the invaders' territory. Though repulsed at Carlisle, he left a trail of ruin behind him from Cockermouth to Newcastle-on-Tyne. But at Christmas time* Sir Robert Clifford, a gallant soldier in command of the garrison at Carlisle, crossed the Solway—the great ford near the Lochmabenstane, adjacent to the convergent mouths of the Kirtle and the Sark. He had with him 100 horse and 20,000 foot, and his purpose was revenge. The cavalry rode on ahead of the foot soldiers. They met with no opposition till they reached Annan Moor. There they found the inhabitants, doubtless the whole available fighting force of the town and vicinity, gathered to resist them. The Annandians appear not to have been aware of the strong force of infantry in the English rear; they thought the 100 horse constituted the entire strength of the inroad, and confiding too much in their numbers despised the enemy.

It had become popular amongst both French and Scots at this time to jibe the English by sneering allusions to the tails which they, probably owing to a monkish miraculous legend, were supposed to possess.† The tailed Englishman was a bye-word and a reproach, and Englishmen may be pardoned if they displayed some sensitiveness on the subject. The men of Annan hailed the horsemen of Clifford with the contemptuous salutation, "Ye dogs

**Hemingburgh*, p. 146.

†See my monograph on this queer subject, *Caudatus Anglicus*, in transactions of Glasgow Archæological Society, 1895.

with tails!"* The jest was dearly paid for when Clifford's dogs of war were let loose! Apparently the ribaldry at their expense stirred them into action sooner than had been intended. The foot were still far in the rear; there was great disparity in numbers, but the irate Englishmen did not pause. The compact body of cavalry, horse and man heavily armed from head to heel, made short work of the brave but undisciplined rabble of Annandalers, not yet inured to arms by centuries of unceasing war. A well directed charge, in which many of the Scotsmen fell, drove into flight the defenders of Annan. A wing of the fugitives was cut off and surrounded, says the chronicle, "in a certain marsh." There the horse could not follow, but soon the foot came up, and the ill-fated occupants of the marsh were attacked a second time—now by overwhelming odds. Of their number 308 were slain, and a few survivors became the prisoners of Clifford.

On Annan Moor close to the march line of Annan and Dornock parishes there is a house called Battlefield. The place bore the name long before the house was built. Beside it there stood, until about the year 1830, a rude monument of three stones formed into a cross. The hillside slopes down to a low-lying wet piece of ground, known as Grichan's Mire, now traversed by the railway. Near by is a farm called Swordwell. Of Grichan's Mire and Battlefield a varying tradition is recorded, and still lingers on the lips of the inhabitants.† Its versions, in minor particulars divergent, unite in testimony of hard fighting on the hillside and in the "mire." The stone cross, they say, was raised in memory of the brave Scots who fell, and there is never omitted the incident of the washing of gory swords in the adjoining well.

In the neighbouring churchyard of Dornock, a few hundred yards distant from the traditional battlefield, lie three very ancient coped tombstones‡ uninscribed, but with a simple and rude floral ornament carved along their sides. These tombstones also have always been associated with the fighting in the mire. After allowing for the long lapse of time since the event, and for the inevitable distortions which attend local tradition—in this case turning a defeat into a victory—there seems scarce a doubt that

Canes caudatos.

†See the *Statistical Accounts*, the *Old* (vol. ii., p. 24), and the *New (Dumfriesshire)*, pp. 257, 525-6.

‡Triangular in general section with top ridge horizontal.

the story of Battlefield and Grichan's Mire gathered from the folk-talk of last century by the writers of the *Statistical Accounts* corroborates in the essentials the tale of contemporary history, five hundred years before. The battle of 1297 took place at Battlefield; the engagement ended in the massacre of fugitives whose retreat was cut off in Grichan's Mire, and the event was commemorated by the rude stone monument which stood so long upon the moor. And the three stones of Dornock Churchyard? Do not the slain three hundred sleep below?

VIII. *The first Burning* (1298).

Much damage was done to the district during the expedition, but it does not appear that the town was made to suffer. Perhaps the organised resistance of the inhabitants, although insufficient to repel the invasion and resulting in the disaster of Annan Moor, was yet enough to protect the town. Eight or nine weeks later, however, in the beginning of Lent, 1298, Clifford made a second raid, pillaged the town of Annan, and burnt it.* There was, says the Guisborough historian, "an immense conflagration which burnt our church." Such then was Annan's baptism of fire in the independence wars.

Too soon the delusive aurora from Wallace's victories vanished. Through defections in his own ranks, he was defeated at Falkirk —never to lead the Scottish spears again. But Edward I. gained little by his victory, he was forced to retreat as soon as the battle was fought. In returning he passed down Annandale, leaving a garrison in Lochmaben Castle, and marching through Annan on his way. An old poet historian describes† the road he took thus—

> To Bothvile, Glascowe, and to the towne of Are,
> And so to Lanarke, Loughmaben, and Anand there.

IX. *The Belfry* (1299).

It was with great difficulty that the English managed to hold Lochmaben during 1299. Constant attacks were made by a Scottish force sallying from its headquarters in Carlaverock Castle. It is evident from the facts at this time that Annan castle—if there had been and was still a castle—could have been a place of no strength. At this stage Robert the Bruce—

**Hemingburgh*, 146.

†*John Hardyng's Chronicle* (ed. 1812), p. 297.

Robert the Bruce *par excellence*, grandson of the Competitor, and destined restorer of Scottish liberty—had thrown in his lot with the national party. That composite body was still far from being united. In August at the Council, in which Bruce was made one of the guardians of the threatened realm, there were hot words between John Comyn and him. Comyn took the young Bruce by the throat*—an attention which maybe was not forgotten one day some seven years later when the two met in the Greyfriars' Monastery at Dumfries. But measures of defence were resolved upon in the Council despite the quarrels which disgraced it. Bruce made an attempt, unsuccessfully,† to wrench Lochmaben, his own castle, out of English hands. No garrison holding Lochmaben could be safe unless it had command of Annan lying between it and its base of reinforcement and supply. A few trifling passages in an army account demonstrate that Annan was at this time in English hands. Stores of various kinds for the troops in Lochmaben were conveyed by boats from Skimburness to Annan—Skimburness in those days the great shipping port of Cumberland, situated a mile north of Silloth, then not yet a town. The stores for which there was a natural waterway were discharged on the river bank in the town itself, and needed careful guarding until they were forwarded by land. But the attack of Bruce on Lochmaben raised apprehensions of a sally on Annan, and greater precautions were required. A house in the *clocherium* or belfry of the town's church was specially repaired for storage‡ of the goods in transit to Lochmaben. It is not carrying inference too far to suggest that the fire which consumed the church in 1298 had left the walls intact—or at least had left the belfry fit for active service.

Analogy points to the conclusion that probably the belfry was one of those square castellated towers common in the early English period. These were frequently low, but broad-set, massive, and strong. There can be little doubt that a defensive purpose, to afford a secure place in an hour of sudden danger, was a determining element in the design which developed this ecclesiastical structure. Over at Burgh-by-Sands there may still be seen one of these stern types of the Border church tower built half for God, and half for the protection of man. When the tide

National MSS. Scotland, Vol. ii. No. 8; *Bain's Calendar* ii., 1978.

†*Bain's Calendar* ii., 1115.

‡*Bain's Calendar*, ii., 1115.

of battle rolled over the hills it was to these belfries that the affrighted inhabitants fled. Probably the *clocherium* of Annan served a double purpose in the 13th century. We know for a fact that it did so in the 16th when Annan steeple was a stronghold manned by a garrison, strengthened by ramparts, and fortified with artillery. Annan, it must be owned, had more need than most towns for a church in which her sons could watch and fight as well as pray. Nevertheless, the use made of the belfry in 1299 is a damaging argument against the existence of a castle then. Had there been a castle, what need could there have been to repair the belfry to guard the stores? Even a very weak castle could be rendered strong by a few hours' digging of trenches, and the erection of a palisade.* Such were the *peels* of Edward I.

X. *The Carlaverock Campaign* (1300).

The events of 1299 shewed King Edward that the conquest of Scotland was not yet accomplished. Mighty preparations were made for another invasion in 1300, but through a variety of causes its whole energy was dissipated in a siege of Carlaverock and an ineffective raid into Galloway. Early in July a great army mustered at Carlisle, and marched north. One historian says that on the journey Edward encamped at Annan.† This must have been about the 3d or 4th of July, for on the 6th he had reached Applegarth ;‡ on the 8th he was at Tinwald ;§ on the 10th at Dumfries, and on the 12th at Carlaverock.‖ The castle, then a powerful fortress, was bravely garrisoned, though a mere handful of Scots stood behind its battlements. To his vexation, Edward was forced to undertake a regular siege, with his great army to beleaguer a three-cornered tower held by but 60 men. Catapult engines of all sorts, war wolves and battering rams, all the cumbrous machinery of war, had to be brought into requisition. There was carting from Carlisle and Lochmaben, there was shipment from Skimburness, there was no small loss of time and temper before the great stone-slings and batteries could be

* See my *Peel, its meaning and derivation* (G. P. Johnston, Edinburgh, 1894), shewing that this was the character of the peels at Lochmaben, Dumfries, and elsewhere.

†*Rishanger* (R. S.), 439.

‡*Liber Quotidianus Garderobæ*, 64.

§*Ibid.*, 64.

‖*Ibid.*, pref. lxviii.

got into position and play, but at last Carlaverock surrendered. Meanwhile, the Scots hung about the flanks of the enemy never hazarding an engagement, and although Edward chased them into Galloway he could not force a battle. But his energies were paralyzed by a bull of Pope Boniface VIII., and before the year was out a truce was agreed to, leaving matters much as they were before the mighty invasion took place. The whole power of England had succeeded in capturing what a contemporary writer only slightly misrepresented as the poor hamlet of Carlaverock.*

During the campaign, on 30th August Edward passed through Annan. We can well fancy that a crowd of townsfolk flocked to see the long-legged king ride by. Certain it is that one of his palfreys kicked a poor woman, and that there was paid to her for medicines and the like, a dole of four shillings out of the king's purse.† At this time it was not his policy—indeed never was—to have the Scottish people as his enemies. Nor can we be quite sure of the attitude of the people of Annandale at this period. The Scots were still only half united: Bruce was wavering still, watching the fitful signs of the times, not yet sure whether he would be a Scottish patriot or the henchman of England. Not till he stabbed Comyn, not till Kirkpatrick had made "siccar," was it seen clearly what the issue was. In this year 1300 Kirkpatrick himself and many other knights of the district were in English pay. Much cartage and carriage and labour of other sorts was done by Dumfriesshire horses, and by the hands of Dumfriesshire men and women.‡

On 17th October, Prince Edward, aftewards King Edward II., was in Annan.§ The King, his father, was there the following day.‖ Devout in his attendance at divine service, he did not depart from his custom when there. He went to church, and his contribution on that occasion duly marked down in his wardrobe accounts was seven shillings. In the end of the same month the French Ambassadors, come to Scotland to conclude a treaty of peace, were visitors at Annan.¶ All the while this expedition

*Langtoft (ed. Hearne), ii. 310.
†*Lib. Quot. Gard.*, 46.
‡The last statement is vouched by *Lib. Quot. Gard.*, 269.
§*Bain's Cal.* ii., 1175.
‖*Lib. Quot. Gard.*, 43.
¶*Lib. Quot. Gard.*, 89.

lasted a stream of warlike stores flowed through the town* for the army, and for the garrisons in Lochmaben, Dumfries, and Carlaverock.

XI. *Rental under the English* (1303).

The English occupancy of Annandale had begun. A rent roll† for the half-year ending at Whitsunday, 1303, shows that the officers of Edward I. received from

Dumfries		£7 10	0
Lochmaben		16 13	4
Annan	£3 6 8		
The Mill at Annan	3 6 8		
		6 13	4
Hightae		0 1	0
Smallholm		0 1	0
Ecclefechan		0 7	8
Moffat		0 3	6

The high proportion which Lochmaben bears in this rental is to be explained by its being the headquarters of the English force. Its lands could be better guarded, and its rental was a less uncertain quantity than that of other places. Besides, Annan as we have seen had been burnt five years before, and it is easy to understand that there was something more than empty rhetoric in the old Greyfriar's statement a few years later that Annan had "lost the honour of a burgh." Annan in the first half of the 14th century was but a wreck of its former self. The flames of Clifford's raid had robbed it both of honour and opulence, its progress was blasted by the prevailing atmosphere of danger, and its fall from at least the hope of greatness was due, not indeed to the curse of St. Malachi, but to one still greater—the ambition of Edward I.

XII. *The Borders after Bannockburn* (1317).

No record exists of Annan's share in the stirring events which followed the year 1306 when Robert the Bruce stabbed Comyn, and finally stood out as the champion of independence. But one cannot doubt that from the heart of his own territory of Annandale he had sturdy help, and that Annan had its part in Bannockburn. After that battle, the sufferings of the Border on both sides were terrible. Although, thanks to the activity of the Scottish soldier-

Ibid., 127.

†*Bain's Cal.*, ii., 1608 (p. 426.)

king, the brunt fell heavier on the English marchmen than on the Scots, yet in 1317, an English scout reported* that the vale of "Anand" was so utterly wasted and burned that from Lochmaben to Carlisle neither man nor beast was left. How Annan itself fared meanwhile we do not know. That it was free after a sort we do know, but that is all.

It is possible to believe tradition when it asserts that to Bruce Annan owes its creation as a royal burgh albeit the so-called tradition is not vouched for by any old authority. The case rests only upon a probability with much in its favour. That Annan was a baronial burgh of a kind under the ancestors of King Robert, as lords of Annandale, is proved by the application of the term *burgus* to it.† The essential distinction between a burgh of barony and a royal burgh is that the latter holds not of any mediate lord, but directly of the king—a distinction dimmer in the 13th century than it later became. What unlikelihood therefore is there in the suggestion that the larger vills, Lochmaben and Annan, should both, formally or otherwise, have become or been made royal burghs when their over-lord the Bruce became king? The Greyfriar of Carlisle, writing in or near the year 1346, believed that Annan had once been a burgh,‡ although by his account that was a lost honour in his day. It is to be presumed that James V. did no more than justice to the burgh in 1539 when, in granting it a new charter, he referred to the former existence of charters of foundation which war and fire had destroyed. It is a confirmation to find similar evidence even in the negative statement of the Carlisle friar. And it is pleasant to feel that in this case one may without any sacrifice of critical historical method believe with tradition that Robert the Bruce made Annan a royal burgh.

XIII. *Baliol's Battle of Annan* (1332).

Bruce died: the good Sir James faced over the sea as a crusader to carry the gallant heart of his master against the enemies of God. The tempest which had lulled after Bannockburn broke out with fresh vehemence when Edward III. came to the English throne. He made a tool of Edward Baliol, son of Edward I.'s poor King John Baliol. Chance favoured Edward

*Bain's *Cal.* iii. 543.

†*New Statistical Account*, Dumfriesshire, p. 522.

‡Above ch. iii.

Baliol's aims. In August, 1332, he was victorious at Duplin, and in September was crowned at Scone, King of Scotland by the grace of Edward III.

As the winter advanced, he journeyed south with his followers—

Till Anand held thai southward syne.*

On 15th December he lay with a small army at Annan. He had arrived there on the 13th, and meant to stay till Christmas.† The fortunes of war proverbially uncertain were doomed to fall out otherwise. On the night of the 15th the young Earl of Mar, the Steward of Scotland, Sir Thomas Fraser, and Sir Archibald Douglas secretly assembled 1000 horse at Moffat.‡ Ere day broke they had ridden to Annan. Could they only fall suddenly upon the puppet King and his Englishmen it would be a stalwart stroke for Scotland! Fate favoured the enterprise. Baliol and his Englishmen were in their beds never dreaming of danger. They were, perhaps, as a contemporary§ states, over-secure in consequence of the victories they had previously obtained. On the morning of 16th December the band of Scots burst upon them "in the dawyng" of the day.‖ There was stout fight shewn, but the surprise was too thorough to be withstood. English chronicle¶ prides itself on the vigour of the resistance of the naked men who gave so good an account of themselves that no fewer than 30 of the Scots were slain. At least 100 of the adherents of Baliol were slain, amongst them several Scottish knights. Baliol himself had a narrow escape. Like the man in the rhyme with one shoe off and the other shoe on, he had to flee with his toilet incomplete. The national contempt for the Baliols—the day of the Dumfries County Council⁂ was not yet—found expression in the satisfaction with which Scottish chronicle records the flight of this scion of their house, who soon afterwards

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* *Wyntoun*, viii. ch. 26, line 3677.

†*Chronicles of Edward I. and Edward II.* (R.S.), ii., 109-110; *Chron. Lanercost*, 271. One authority says he had appointed a Parliament to be held there. *Knyghton* in *Decem Scriptores*, 2562.

‡*Bower*, *Scotichronicon*, ii., 308.

§*Chron. Lanercost*, 271.

‖The battle is described in *Wyntoun*, viii. ch., 26; *Chron. Lanercost*, 270-1; *Scalacronica*, 161; *Decem Scriptores*, 2562; *Chron. Ed. I. and Ed. II.* (R.S.), ii., 109-110; *Bower*, ii., 308; *Leland* changed a defeat into a victory; *Scalacronica*, 295.

¶*Chron. Lanercost*, 271.

⁂Which with a deplorable lack of feeling for history has, in defiance of the Lyon King of Arms, put the armorial bearing of the Baliols into the county seal.

in implement of an earlier bargain surrendered Dumfriesshire* to England as the price of the support of Edward III. in his efforts for the crown. With one leg booted and the other bare, on a horse without saddle or bridle and harnessed only with a halter, he was chased ignominiously out of the land.†

Our fine old rhyming historian,‡ Wyntoun, tells the tale thus :

Ande, or all this tyme wes gone,
The yhoung Erle off Murrawe Jhon
And Schyre Archebald off Dowglas
That brodyr till Schyre Jamys was,
Purchasyd§ thame a cumpany,
A thowsand wycht men and hardy;
Till Anand in a tranowntyng‖
Thai come on thame in the dawyng.¶
Thare war syndry gud men slayne
Schyre Henry, the Ballyoll thame agayne,
With a staffe fawcht sturdyly,
And dyntis delt rycht dowchtyly,
That men hym loved efftyr his day.
Thare deyde Schyre Jhone than the Mowbray,
And Alysawndyre the Brws wes tane.
Bot the Ballyoll his gat is gane
On a barme[1] hors wyth leggys bare,
Swa fell that he ethchapyd[2] thare.
The lave[3] that ware noucht tane in hand
Fled qwhare thai mycht fynd warrand,
Swa that all that cumpany,
Dyscumfyt ware all halyly.

Scotland was glad of this battle of Annan which rid her, for the time at least, of a king she did not want. He had a merry Christmas in Carlisle,[4] says the *Lanercost Chronicle*; the community loved him much for the great confusion he had brought upon the Scots after he invaded Scotland, although now that confusion had fallen upon himself.

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* *Fœdera*, 12th June, 1334.

†One of the three ancient fords of the estuary now called Solway was at Annan, the Annan wath. *Knyghton in Decem Scriptores*, 2566.

‡ *Wyntoun*, viii., ch. 26.

§Purchasyd, procured.

‖Tranowntyng, journeying by night.

¶In the dawyng, at dawn. *En un aube de jour* is the phrase of the *Scalacronica*.

[1]Barme, saddleless.

[2]Ethchappyd, escaped.

Lave, the rest.

[4]*Chron. Lanercost*, 271.

XIV. *The English Occupation* (1384).

In these Baliol wars England got a fast grip of Annandale which Edward Baliol, in consideration of favours received and expected, had ceded to Edward III. For over half a century Annan remained in English hands. There is slender means of gauging the feeling of the town towards its temporary masters. This, however, is certain—the Scottish feeling never flagged. An interesting legal document* dated 24th July, 1347, is a formal inquest made in course of the service of an heir to a property in Annan. The jury in precise and regular fashion speak of Annan not as a city, not as a vill, but as a burgh. As early as the middle of the 13th century the town had begun to give surname† to persons in different parts of the country. William of Anant‡ was in the Scots garrison of Stirling in 1304. John of Anand, was a Scottish sailor§ wrecked in 1320. Walter of Anand, in 1335, was nominee‖ for the rectory of Dornock. There are many¶ other instances, mostly names, and nothing more. But Sir David of Anand, was one of the most distinguished men of the 14th century, a soldier** such as Annan might well be proud of, could the claim to him as a native be substantiated.

In 1363 Roger Clifford received a license from Edward III. to retain in his service for three years John, son of Robert Corry, of the town of Annan, whose father dwells in Scotland at the Scottish faith ; a striking documentary voucher of the patriotism of the place. Still more interesting is a safe conduct granted in 1368 to John Clerc and John Belle, of Annan, merchants to travel with goods and merchandise into England[1]—an industry which happily is still far from extinct ! In spite of the English occupation the town continued to enjoy such a precarious measure of prosperity as the dangerous time allowed. The inhabitants were exposed alike to the rapacity of their English masters, and the attacks of the Scots, their fellow countrymen struggling to rid them of the English yoke. The "vills" of Annan and

**Bain's Cal.*, iii. 1499.
†*Reg. Glasg.*, i., p. 183. *Reg. Domus de Soltra*, p. 34.
‡*Fœdera*, 24th July, 1304.
§*Bain's Cal.*, iii. 713.
‖*Reg. Glasg.* i , p. 249.
¶*Robertson's Index.*
****Bower, Scotichronicon*, ii. 319. *Rotuli Scotiæ*, i. 879*ab*.
[1] *Rotuli Scotiæ*, i. 926*b*.

Lochmaben at this time with their demesne lands, profits of court, and tolls, were farmed out to three of the inhabitants. John Clerc, mentioned before as an Annan merchant, was one of the three farmers* of the town. John Deconson and William Taylor were his colleagues. They drew its rents as best they could, and paid over the sum yearly to the English chamberlain at Lochmaben. In 1374 £12 14s 4d was the half of the return from Annan and Lochmaben combined. But in 1376, whilst the half of Lochmaben yielded 53s 4d, the half of Annan gave only 7s, "and no more," says the account,† "because no tenant would hold it from the devastations of the Scots." It is scarcely possible to regard those payments as a *firma burgi* or fixed burghal rent. There may be doubts about their economic interpretation; but the difficulty of collecting them shews explicitly enough that the Scots‡ were rapidly making Annandale too hot for its English garrison.

Numerous efforts§ to reconcile the animosities between Cumberland and Annandale and induce fraternity had failed; the Annandale men, despite the pressure put upon them, were Scots still. Edward III. was dying, and the firm grasp of his youth and prime had been relaxed even in the few fortresses which were remnants of a long extinguished hope of conquest in Scotland. His grandson, Richard II., let them go altogether. In 1385 Lochmaben Castle was wrested from the garrison‖ which had held it so long. Ill-victualled and ill-manned it fell before the attack of Archibald the Grim. Annandale at last was free. A second great epoch, that of English occupancy, was over, and Annan shared in the completed emancipation.

XV. *Albany and Douglas* (1482).

During the 15th century the little town left small trace in history. In the war-storms of the previous hundred years, what wonder if the burgh had passed out of sight absolutely, as Roxburgh did? It is not until 1481 that there is again definite news. James III., scholarly and refined with a taste for art and

Bain's Cal., iv., 223.

†*Bain's Cal.*, iv., 231.

‡In 1479 Thomas Glencors, born at "Anaunt," was naturalised in London. *Bain's Cal.*, iv., 1465.

§*Rotuli Scotiae*, i., 414b, 661b, 711b, 875ab, 887b, 888a, 924b, 951a, 956b, 965b.

‖*Wyntoun*, ix. ch. 5.

science, was a monarch out of the ordinary Stewart groove. Out of harmony with feudal surroundings, his disposition made it easy for his turbulent brother, the Duke of Albany aided by the rebellious Earl of Douglas, to raise a strong faction in support of his ambitious claims. Albany pretended to the throne. Retiring into England, he found there Edward IV. willing to render him somewhat the same service as Edward III. had done to Edward Baliol. War broke out between the two countries. It was suspended for a short while by a papal bull, but renewed hostilities were daily expected when the Scottish Parliament met in March, 1482. The proceedings for defence were energetic, and the language was the same. "The Revare Edward calland him King of Ingland," they said, was threatening the land, and provision had to be made for "the resisting and aganestanding of the saide Revare Edwarde quhilk schapis to invaid this realme with grete armey and powere, baith be sey and land." The whole body of the realm was therefore summoned to rally round the King "to leyf and dee with his hienes in his defence." Active measures were resolved upon.* Strict watch was to be kept. The King himself was to maintain a force of 500 men; the clergy were to furnish 240 men; other 240 were to be upheld at the cost of the barons; whilst the burghs' share was 120. This little standing army was distributed over the borders—500 in Berwick, 300 in various places on the east march, 100 in Hermitage, 100 in Lochmaben, 40 in Castlemilk, 20 in Bell's Tower (at Kirkconnel), and 40 in Annan. "In Annand xl men." Kirkpatrick of Closeburn was to be Captain of Lochmaben, and Charteris of Amisfield Captain of Castlemilk, Annan, and Bell's Tower, "he to remaine in ane of the thre placis and his twa deputis in the tothir twa placis." The invasion expected did not take place. Edward IV. died. But on the Magdalen day at Lochmaben, 22nd July, 1484, Albany and Douglas, with their English supports† resting on the slopes of Birrenswark, made a raid on Annandale. After a hard battle, fought manfully from noon till twilight, closing near Kirkconnel, the old Earl Douglas was a prisoner, and Albany, a pretender like Edward Baliol, was driven away again into England, an exile for the remainder of his days. Douglas was captured by Alexander Kirkpatrick,

**Acts of Parliament, Scotland*, ii., 140; *Lesley's Historie*, 1436-1561, p. 47.

†The battle is described in *Godscroft* (ed. 1743), 379, and *Patrick Anderson's MS. Historie* (Advocate's Library), l., 40-41.

son of the laird of Closeburn. Alexander had granted a bond of manrent and service to Robert Charteris of Amisfield—the captain, as we have seen, of Annan—and when the rewards of the battle of Kirkconnel were given a curious law suit arose out of Amisfield's claim to one third of his vassal's handsome winnings, a claim which the lords of Council were minded to sustain.*

XVI. *The Church* (1474-1510).

Meanwhile what of the church? The memory of its connexion with Guisborough had long been effaced. For a full century and a half there is not a word of record on the ecclesiastical affairs of Annan. In 1474 Gilbert Maxwell was rector,† succeeded before 1487 by William Turnbull.‡ How long he was rector we cannot precisely say. In those days the priests were not married, but, as has been satirically said, they were often succeeded by their eldest sons. William Turnbull's successor was Adam Turnbull. In Sir Adam's pastorate a terrible scandal arose The Border clergy of the 16th century were rough pastors of rough flocks, often men of violence and blood. Sir Adam somehow did to death a man named Robert Faresch. A citation was executed§ in April 1510 in the churches of Lochmaben, Annan, Cummertrees, and Garwald. Rumour had laid a charge of "cruel slaughter" at Sir Adam's door. The summons was for the purpose of eliciting a regular and formal accusation at the instance of some relative, friend, or person having interest. No such accuser entered appearance.‖ What came of the case in the end does not appear, but a presumption of Sir Adam's guilt arises from the fact that a year later he appealed to the Pope¶ from some decision by the Archbishop of Glasgow. The probability is that this decision, though its subject is not mentioned, was a sentence of deprivation or the like pronounced in consequence of this damaging charge. When we consider, as we shall need to do directly, that the castle of Annan, which was to be garrisoned in 1482, was in all likelihood no other than the church steeple, we need not wonder if the parson was a man of blood.

**Acta Dominorum Concilii*, p. *95.
†*Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, ii., 81.
‡*Registrum Magni Sigilli*, ii., 2131.
§*Diocesan Registers of Glasgow*, ii. 330.
‖*Diocesan Registers*, ii., 356.
¶*Ibid.*, ii. 402.

XVII. *Lord Dacre's Raid* (1514).

The disaster of Flodden in 1513 was certain to thrill the natives of Border towns not only with the national sorrow, but with a keen sense of impending danger from invasion. The bitterest expectations were realised. A raid of Lord Dacre, in 1514, on the west march, was peculiarly ferocious. In a savage and exulting despatch* he tells how bitterly he revenged the losses inflicted on his own side of the marches by Scottish inroads. "For oone cattel taken by the Scotts we have takyn, won, and brought away out of Scotland cth [100], and for oone shepe ccth of a suretie. And as for townships and houses burnt," he goes on to say, "I assure your lordships for trouthe that I have and has caused to be burnt and distroyit sex tymes mor townys and housys within the West and Middill Marches of Scotland in the same season then is done to us." Lord Dacre believed that in the matter of fire and sword it was more blessed to give than to receive! "Upon the West Marches," he boasted, "I haif burnt and distroyed the townshipps of Annand, Dronnok, Dronnokwood, Tordoff," and so on through a long list of over 30 places in Annandale and Eskdale he pursues his arithmetic of havoc. "Whereas there was in all times passed," he says, in conclusion, "cccth pleughes, and above whiche er now clerely waisted, and noo man dwelling in any of them at this day save oonly in the towrys of Annand steepill and Walghopp"—*i.e.*, Wauchop, in Eskdale. Thus from Annan to the Border only Annan steeple remained. The lineal descendant of that old belfry spoken of in the 13th century—if not, indeed, that actual belfry itself, which is the more probable proposition—the church tower of Annan alone rose above that scene of wreck and desolation. But the houses of the town soon rose again, for in spite of all her calamities Annan had kept her stout heart as well as her strong steeple.

XVIII. *Annan's Burghal Charter* (1539).

Hitherto we have seen few if any clear proofs of municipal life. Annan had no place in the rolls of the Exchequer; sent no member to Parliament; is only once or twice mentioned in any transaction of public business as a burgh; has no credentials to produce for its having exercised distinctively corporate rights or had any civic life. With its very existence in constant danger, anything in the

*Dated 17th May, 1514, transcribed in *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, ii., 462.

shape of formality in the transaction of burghal business could hardly be looked for. The legal status and privileges of the community, whatever they were, might well pass into abeyance and be forgotten under such conditions. Before the 17th century no provost or bailie of Annan is ever—so far as I have been able to discover—named. But in the 16th century things were shaping towards order. The year 1539 witnessed a great fact in Annan history—a confirmation or revival of its burghal dignity by a Charter of Novodamus of James V. Those who have any regard for the memories and the honour of the town have some reason for a glow of satisfaction in the language of the King's charter:

"Whereas," says the document, still cherished among the burgh's archives,* "the town of Annan, situated upon the western marches very near adjacent to the realm of England, within the Stewartry of Annandale, has been very often burnt and destroyed, and the burgesses and inhabitants plundered and slain by the English in defence of the realm of Scotland, as well in time of peace as of war, and have ever remained leal Scots, true to our Crown; and whereas the ancient charters of foundation and the infeftments of said burgh made by our predecessors have been destroyed and burnt in sieges and fires by our enemies and otherwise, in consequence whereof the use of markets has ceased among them. Therefore, we have of new granted in fee to said burgesses and community the Burgh and Town of Annan as a free burgh for ever, with all its lands and annual rents, possessions and fishings whatsoever to the same pertaining."

These are then particularised, as well as the various privileges, such as the liberty of having a market cross, a weekly market on Saturday, and an eight days' fair yearly, beginning on All Hallow Thursday.† Into the large subject of those things the limits of space prevent me at present entering.

XIX. *Lord Wharton's Design upon Annan* (1543-45).

The disaster of Solway Moss in 1542, without its like in Scottish history, overwhelmed James V., who died of shame and grief. The reign of the child-Queen, Mary Stewart, began under circumstances of great national depression. The town was

*It of course passed the Great Seal. *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. iii., No. 1919.

†Ascension Day, 39 days after Easter Day.

destined soon to feel the strain of opposing policies—the English scheme for a marriage between the young Queen and the heir to the English throne, and the Scottish policy—for such it came to be—of resisting that matrimonial project of Henry VIII. Religious controversy, ever an inflammatory factor in politics, added fuel to the burning question. All methods—diplomacy, bribery, and bluster by turns—were used by Henry to bring about the English match. Failing policy, he was prepared to resort to force. It was a strange kind of courtship; even whilst it was going on the generals of Henry were planning how they could best bring Scotland to her knees. In 1543 Lord Wharton, at a military council, recommended a scheme for ravaging the Scottish border. Amongst other places he wished to burn and lay waste, he proposed the destruction of Annan*—"the towne of Annande, which is the chief town in all Anerdaill except Dumfreis." Lord Wharton's notions about the bounds of Annandale were not pedantically precise. He had an antipathy to Annan, not without good cause. Its church, we are told by another Englishman†, was "a strong place and very noysum alwey unto our men as they passed that way." It was thus a serious obstacle to wardens' raids—hence Wharton's zeal for its destruction, his regarding it as a sort of Carthage on the west march.

This council of war in 1543 gives the first inkling of events to follow. In 1545 every nerve was strained to induce Lord Maxwell, who had been taken captive at Solway Moss, to surrender to the English his castles of Carlaverock and Lochmaben. This attempt was furthered by a cruel working upon the prisoner's fears and by his bad health, which confinement did not improve. It was at last so far successful that Carlaverock was yielded. Whilst this consummation of the King's wishes wavered in the balance, Lord Wharton again was pressing for consideration his designs against the burgh upon whose doom he was bent. He contrasted two alternative schemes.‡ One was to assail Dumfries, which, however, he thought "over harde and dangerous to be attempted with a warden's roode."§ The other,

**State Papers of Henry VIII.* (1534-1546), vol. v., p. 344.
†*Patten's Account in Dalzell's Fragments*, pp. 94-5.
‡*State Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. v., 545.
§"A wardan's roode which is to go and cum in a day and a night." The definition is Wharton's own in letter (MS. *State Papers, Scotland, Edward VI.*, 1547), dated 16 Sept., 1547, transcribed in "Auld Lang Syne" column (No. cix.) of *Dumfries Standard.*

which he was strong in recommending, was "that he should make a rode yn to overthrow and caste downe a certen churche and steple called the Steple of Annande."

Nevertheless the first of these exploits taken in hand was that which he discountenanced. A raid was, early in 1547, made on Dumfries by Sir Thomas Carleton. Owing to the disunion amongst the lands of Dumfriesshire, mainly due to the corrupt and violent influences brought to bear by Henry VIII., Carleton accomplished his task with no less success than dexterity and carried off a heavy plunder, if we may fully trust his swaggering report of his own performances given by the "miniature Cæsar," as M'Dowall,* the Dumfries historian, dubs him.

XX. *Wharton's Inroad* (1547).

Although the town† itself was harried, and "with the corne in the same towne burnt" in 1544 by his son, it was not until 1547 that Wharton's plan for the overthrow of Annan Steeple was seriously undertaken. Whilst the Protector Somerset was marching northward, with Pinkie ahead, Wharton was leading an expedition across the border, directed chiefly against the Steeple which had so long been an eyesore to himself, and a thorn in the sides of his countrymen. When Scotland was constrained to concentrate all her force to meet Somerset on the east March, when many of the men of Annandale had yielded to the pressure of the time and become "assured Scots" liegemen of England, now it was that Wharton's darling scheme was entrusted to himself to execute.

With 5000 foot and 500 horse he crossed the frontier on 9th September. On Saturday the 10th, that rueful date in the Scottish calendar, when Somerset was fighting Pinkie battle, Wharton's force reached Castlemilk. The renegade Scot, the Earl of Lennox, was the ally and comrade of the English leader. Castlemilk made only a feint of resistance. Its commandant only waited to have the glove of Lennox sent him, and then surrendered the castle keys.

Next day Wharton proceeded to Annan, where a sterner reception awaited him. He found Annan Steeple with pennon flying, manned to resist.

**M'Dowall's History of Dumfries*, pp. 195-199.

†*Bruce Armstrong's Liddesdale*, appx. lv.

XXI. *Annan Steeple, The Noisome Neighbour* (1547).

It is not easy to determine from the disjointed references to the famous steeple whether it stood in the middle of the church between the choir and the nave, or whether it stood at the western extremity of a church consisting of a choir only. A nave is never mentioned. Probabilities are strong for the belief that the tower formed the western end of the building,* the site of which is now occupied by the Town Hall and part of the old churchyard. The choir—"quere" they called it then—was at the east end of the structure. On the north side the position had good natural advantages in the steep slope down to the kirk burn. The steeple was low, only a "house height," probably not 20 feet high, but "that house height rampered up with earth." Around both Church and Steeple† a strong rampart of earth added all the advantages of art. The house of God was made into a fortress.

Such was the strange appearance made by Annan Steeple. Its Captain was James Lyon of Glamis. He had seven gunners with him. His ecclesiastical fortress was manned by many burgesses of the town and other soldiers of the district, for Annan's own fighting force at this time does not seem to have been much over 30.‡ Lyon had under his command a total force of about 100 men.

The garrison§ stood manfully to their defence. When Wharton came he saw a "pensall of defyaunce," the Scottish banner, hung out and all the other evidences of stout resistance.

XXII. *The Siege of the Steeple* (1547).

On arrival at Annan, the attacking force pitched camp as near the steeple as possible. A summons was sent to the captain to surrender—a summons which met with unhesitating refusal.

*The following description is taken mainly from Lennox & Wharton's letter of 16th September, 1547 (British Museum, MS. State Papers, Edward VI., 1547, vol. i,), transcribed by Miss Jessie Wright, of London, and printed in *Dumfries Standard* "Auld Lang Syne Column" No. cix. See excerpt below. Other authorities are specified when quoted.

†*Holinshed's Scottish Chronicle* (ed. 1805) ii., 241.

‡The town of Annan was returned for 33 men by Lord Wharton. See *Nicholson and Burn's History of Westmorland and Cumberland*, p. lv.

§Annan was—at a later period at least—permanently garrisoned. The English in their plans for raids had always to reckon upon the risk of encounter with "the particular garrisone in Annane towne for the tyme." *Bruce Armstrong's Liddesdale* appx., p. cxvi.

Surrender was out of the question. The captain would hold the steeple. Such were the Regent's orders, and they would be implicitly obeyed. The odds against him were fifty to one—his 100 men against Wharton's 5000. But there was hope that by the morrow a detachment from the Regent might arrive to raise the siege.

That night the English laid their plans for the morning's work. They had few guns, a falcon, a falconette, and four falcons, a battery of only six small pieces, which they planted so as to assail the battlements of the steeple. The guns appear to have been placed to the west or south-west of the church where the steeple was fully exposed. Such at least would have been a natural inference from the position of the place even had there been no confirmatory fact. It happens, however, that Annan has, in a street name, preserved a memory of that eventful 12th of September, and commemorated the position of the siege train until this day in the "Battery Brae," which, descending from the High Street to the Kirk Burn on the way to the Moat, exactly conforms to the requirements of the contemporary account of the siege given by Wharton in his despatch.

With daybreak, the fight began, archers and hackbutmen assailed the defenders from every side; the artillery played upon the embattled top; and Wharton's ancient animosity at last found its echo amid smoke and flame and the crackle of ordnance.

The garrison bated no jot of heart or hope; the "pensall of defyaunce" fluttered free; Lyon, the captain, and his colleagues, did their duty like men. The Master of Maxwell by some accounts* was there, and so were the Laird of Johnstone and Murray of Cockpool. The English writers were not slow to recognise the strenuous gallantry of Lyon and the Borderers, who kept the tower with him. The Scots "made sharp war," is the laconic phrase of a despatch. They valiantly defended themselves, says Holinshed. The steeple was "well defended," says yet another old historian.† Both church and steeple were stoutly held. They were, says an English chronicler‡ "places of themselves verie strong and mightlie reinforced with earth." Deftly the Regent's gunners handled the few guns at their command. The

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**Lesley's Historie of Scotland*, p. 202; *Holinshed*, ii., 241.

†*Herries' Memoirs* (Abbotsford Club), p. 22.

‡*Holinshed*, ii. 241.

consecrated building belched forth fire and death with as little compunction as if its walls had never heard a gospel of peace.

The cannonade went on, but Wharton soon found a change of tactics necessary. To pound away at the top of the steeple was going to prove a mere waste of powder. The ordnance was not heavy enough to make headway against the building, so the mode of attack was altered. Whilst the whole fire was concentrated on the battlements to harass the defenders the English pioneers cautiously advanced to the walls. This plan so far succeeded; a "pavise" of strong timber—a sort of shed or roof—was thrown forward to the Steeple, and men set forth to work under its protection to undermine the walls. But the garrison had not exhausted their resources of offence, a great mass of stone—perhaps part of a castellated battlement—which Wharton called the top of the steeple—fell, or more probably was hurled over upon the "pavise," crashing through it and carrying death in its train The attack on the steeple in that quarter, and by that method, had to be abandoned.

Once again the tactics were changed. The operations of the besiegers were directed against the wall of the church at the east end of the choir. There the attacking force was less exposed to reprisals. The gable end of the choir was assailed by the pioneers, who this time attained their object. The east wall was cut through and undermined, and not only the gable, but part of the choir roof as well, fell inward, killing with the crash seven of the defenders.

The strongest part of the whole structure remained. Although the church was no longer defensible owing to the great breach through its eastern wall, the steeple was intact. But there was a weak point in the armour. If the plan of the building is here apprehended rightly, the sole door into the steeple was from the inside of the church.* Obviously, therefore, the breach in the choir gable and the falling in of the roof exposed the door. The steeple laid open to attack at an entirely undefended point, was reduced to desperate straits.

"After that," says Wharton, "we caused the peices be laid to shoot at the door of the steple." Seemingly the guns were shifted to the east end of the building and their fire directed through the choir. The new attack did great execution among the cooped up garrison taken as it were in the rear. It "caused them further

*As, for example, is the case at Burgh-on-Sands at this moment, where, moreover, the tower has actually still a port-hole for cannon.

to myen," says Wharton exultingly: to hold the fortress after its door had been battered in by artillery was impossible. At 8 in the morning the fierce siege had begun. gunner, hackbutteer archer, and pioneer had done their deadliest work all day long, and it was not till 4 in the afternoon that the thought of surrender was entertained. The last hope of reinforcement from the Regent had faded away in the news of his defeat at Pinkie two days before. Appealing for honourable terms, the captain of Annan hauled down his "pensall of defyaunce" at last.*

Nearly half the garrison had been killed. Only 57 men issued from the building when their captain delivered up its keys in symbol of surrender. Next day the extremity of revenge was wreaked upon the town. It fell first on the church and steeple. These had been undermined at various points, and trains of gunpowder were laid. Thus, as it is rather paradoxically expressed, "both the church and steeple were blown up into the air and razed down to the ground. This done," concludes Holinshed, "they burnt the town after they had sacked it, and left not one stone standing upon another, for that the

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*Excerpt from Wharton and Lennox's most interesting despatch:—"We were informede that the Governor hade sent one Jamys Lyone with viith guners to the steple of Anande, and gyvin in charge to hyme with others of the towne for the save keping thereof, and a promyse maide that within foure howres froe the Ynglish armye were there they should be relieved with a more powre, whereupon we marched on the morowe being Sondaye towards Anande, and encamped ourselfs that night so nere the steple as we could, and the same night at our lodging sent somons to the capitayne to rendre the steple who denyed so to do, and saide he wolde kepe it as the Governor, his Mr, had comanded. And we having no ordenence but a facon, a faconette, and foure quarter facons for that there is no batrie peice at Carlisle divised that night howe we shulde maike warre agaynst the house on the morowe. At viiith of the clok in the mornyng we laid those sex peices to leit the batailling, and appoyntid certain archers and hagbutters to maik warre also untill a paveis of tymbre might be drawn to the side of the steple under whiche sexe pyoners might work to have undermyned the sam. And in putting these to effecte they in the house made sharpe warre, and slew foure of our men, and hurt divers others. And with grett sonde the steple toppe brooke the paveis after it was sett, and being in that extrymytie lakking ordenence for that purpose we caused certain pyoneers cutt the walle of the east ende of the quere over thwart above the earthe, and caused the hoole ende to falle, wherewith the rooff and tymber falling inwards slewe vii Scotsmen. And after that we caused the peices be laid to shoot at the door of the steple which was a house-hight, and that house-hight vampered with earth, and caused them further to myen. And then the capitayne about foure of the clok afternoon took downe his pensall of defyaunce. And he and the men within the house cried for mercie, who were answered that they all should be hanged. And crying for mercie they said they wold submytt themselfs whatever we would do with them by death or otherwise."

same town had ever been a verie noisome neighbour to England. The Englishmen had conceived such spite towards this town that if they saw but a piece of wood remaining unburnt they would cut the same in pieces with their bills." Wharton's own despatch is to the same purpose. "Upon Teusday mornynge cutt and raiced down the church wallis and steplee and brent the towne, not leving anything therin unbrent, which was the best towne in Anerdaile. We caused also vii fisher boottis lying on the river to be taken and sent into England." Another authority* declares that they "burnt the spoil for cumber of caryage." "The English," says Lesley† "wer so warlyeantlie resisted be the Lorde Maxwell, Lairdis Johnestoun, Cokpule, and utheris cuntrey men that thay wan litill honour in thair jornay, sauffing that thay brint the Kirk of Annan and blew it up with pulder, quhilk wes ane wicked and ungodlie act." Wharton's fell design had been achieved in its vindictive entirety—Annan, town and tower, was utterly destroyed.

And here meantime in the dust we must leave her. From her position on the border she was born to such misfortunes, and knew how to bear them. She had graced her recently renewed honours as a burgh with one more justification for the compliments of King James.

**Patten's Account in Dalzell's Fragments*, p. 95.

†*Lesley's Historie*, p. 202.

FIELD MEETINGS.

25th of May.

A visit was made to Drumlanrig Castle and Durisdeer Church, under the direction of Mr James Fingland.

New Members elected:—Mr John Robson, clerk to the County Council, and Major Young of Lincluden.

29th of June.

A visit was made to Maxwelton House and Craigdarroch, on the invitation of Sir Emilius Laurie and Captain Cutlar Fergusson. Under the guidance of the Rev. Thomas Kidd, the places consecrated to the memory of Renwick were visited.

New members elected:—Mr David J. Jardine of Applegirth; the Rev. Thomas Kidd, Moniaive; Mr James M'Call of Caitloch; Mrs Thomas Shortridge, jun.; Mr Robert Wallace, Brownhall School.

7th of September.

A visit was paid to Birrens to inspect the excavation of the Roman camp being made by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, assisted by Mr James Barbour, the representative of this Society.

At Birrens, Dr Macdonald gave a brief description of the original extent of the fort or station, its defences, and the manner in which the excavations were being carried out. His remarks were supplemented by Mr James Barbour, who explained what may be called the building plan of the interior, where the foundations of numerous structures have been somewhat unexpectedly discovered. The first antiquary, it appears, who took notice of Birrens and described it as a Roman fort was Alexander Gordon. Soon after Sir John Clerk confirmed Gordon's view by his discovery, quite close to its defences, of the statue of the goddess Brigantia and other Roman inscribed stones. General Roy followed with a more accurate plan than Gordon's. To these authorities all subsequent writers are indebted for what they tell of it. The station proper, covering four acres, is enclosed within a single rampart of considerable breadth and height, and was further protected by six ditches on the north and apparently four on the east and west. Of these last traces were visible a century and a half ago. On the south all its defences have long since

been swept away by the waters of the Mein. Including its ramparts and ditches the station must have occupied seven or eight acres. Its form is that of a parallelogram, its angles are rounded, it has four entrances, one on each side; it is situated on a bluff near a running stream, and it slopes gently to the south. All these are features that go to establish its Roman origin. The work of exploration was begun by driving a trench through the north rampart and ditches, so as to ascertain the materials composing the former as well as the shape and size of the latter. In the same way the inner edge of this rampart was exposed, as also the entrance through it into the station. Such stone work as occurs here is of a very rude kind. The structure of the main body of the rampart reveals several points of interest. Other incisions were made in it, and in the mounds on the east and west sides. Everywhere there were found to be certain marked resemblances, but at the same time differences which seem at present to forbid the conclusion that the enclosing rampart had been constructed at one time and on one uniform plan. But further examination and the study of various questions involved are required. As yet no remains of a stone wall, such as surrounds the Roman stations in the north of England, have been met with. So thoroughly has almost every square yard of the enclosed space been turned over in the search for building materials or perhaps for expected treasures, during the many centuries Birrens was uncared for, that the "finds" have been few and of no value to any one but the archæologist. Among them are a large bowl hewn out of freestone, the use of which is uncertain; a portion of a small bronze figure of Mercury; pieces of sculptured panels and other ornamental work; portions of querns, made of the so-called Andernach stone, one of them hooped with iron; two pieces of an inscribed stone with well cut letters; a small stone with the name of the Sixth Legion marked on it in punctured letters; a small portion of a bronze vessel; an altar with inscription defaced, or a pedestal; large nails and other objects of iron much corroded; fragments of glass; bones of domestic animals; together with numerous pieces of pottery—Samian, "biscuit," grey, and dark, the Samian uniformly occurring in the lowest strata. It would be premature to attempt as yet to say how far the successive periods in the history of Birrens as a stronghold have been made known by these still unfinished excavations. Much, however, has been accomplished that is of permanent value. Birrens must

henceforth rank not as a mere "camp," but as a Roman station of the first class, intended probably as a defence of the great Southern Wall. Successfully assailed by superior numbers, the legionaries had, perhaps oftener than once, to abandon it, finding it on their return a mass of ruins. Such at least is the tale the excavations seems to tell. How often it was rebuilt by them or, as it may be, by other invading or by native tribes, it may be impossible to say. But a careful study of the various appearances it is seen to present will doubtless be made, and the veil that has hitherto shrouded the past may be lifted, at least in part. Greater interest than ever now attaches to Birrenswark. The camps there differ in many respects from Birrens, but from any point of view are worthy a careful examination. In other parts of Dumfriesshire are ancient strongholds to which attention is now naturally drawn. Raeburnfoot, in Eskdale, as described by its discoverer in the "New Statistical Account of Scotland," has not a few of the characteristics of a Roman camp or fort. Nothing, however, it would appear, has been done to satisfy the inquirer as to its real origin. At no great distance from it is Castle O'er, which has been a fort of great strength though less Roman like in form; and in the north of Middlebie, on Birrens Hill, is a remarkable quadrangular fort that seems to have hitherto almost escaped notice.

The following is the substance of Mr Barbour's statement: Although the exploratory works are not yet so complete as to admit of all the lines being fully traced, enough has been done to show that the entire area of the interior of the camp was occupied with buildings of various kinds, and the roads about them. The character of the roads and structures and their arrangement are deserving of careful study. The plan displayed is found to be highly symmetrical. It shows a main road extending from the north gateway to the south end of the camp, and one running from the east gateway to the west. These divide the camp into four rectangular spaces, the two at the south end being the smaller, and these spaces again are subdivided by numerous subsidiary roads or lanes running parallel with one or other of the main thoroughfares. It has not been ascertained whether the north-to-south road was continuous or if it was blocked north of the crossing by a central building—the Prætorium or the Forum —confirm to the arrangement found to obtain in some other camps. The roadways generally are formed of a thick bed of

gravel, hard and well bound together, the surface well rounded, the edges supported on two courses of stone; and for carrying off the surface water there have been hewn stone gutters on either side, of which several pieces yet remain *in situ*. The foundations of the building, unfortunately, have in some places wholly disappeared; for the most part those remaining are two courses of stone in height only, but in some instances they rise to a height of several courses. There are indications showing that the buildings have been of varied importance; those abutting on the east-to-west road, and particularly towards the east end of it, have evidently been intended for the more important purposes. They are distinguished by greater thickness of wall and better workmanship, but chiefly by the numerous prominent buttresses projecting therefrom on all sides. Two also show hypocaust arrangements for artificially heating the interior; these consist of a system of hot air ducts with connecting openings, over which the floors were laid. The other buildings seem to have been simple oblongs, without any distinctive features. Some of the masonry, distinguished by the less thickness of the walling and inferior workmanship, evidently belongs to a period subsequent to the erection of the original work; and as it stands on the old footings and alongside the old walling, would seem first to have been destroyed, and probably after a lengthened interval, when the art of building had deteriorated, the secondary work would be undertaken. Other circumstances, such as the existence of one floor overlying another at a lower level, point in the same direction. All this, however, remains to be more fully inquired into and considered. Several interesting methods followed in the construction of the works are revealed. Preparation, for instance, is made for the reception of the footings of the more important walls by putting down a thick bed of well-tempered clay, and setting its surface with a causeway of whinstone cobbles; the walls are built in courses, with all the stones placed as headers, and the centre is closed with stones fitted in without shivers. The dressings indicate the use of various tools, the axe, scabbling pick, point, and chisels of several kinds. One is brought well into the presence of the old Roman mason when the breadth of the chisels he used is found marked on the stones on which they were sharpened. The character of the buildings as indicated by what remains of them sufficiently proves that they were not intended to serve a temporary purpose but were meant for

permanent or prolonged occupation. How far they displayed an architectural character little is left by which to judge. It is very probable that the great display of buttresses, while intended chiefly to secure strength, were also utilised for architectural effect. A well-formed splayed base course remains on one of the buildings, and several fragments of mouldings have been obtained, some of them carved, and these and other finds, such as stone floor tiles, neatly marked with the chisel in squares and diamond forms measuring about an inch each way, seem to show that elegance was not wanting.

New members elected:—Mr John Boreland, Closeburn; Mr William Duncan, Rotchell Park; Mr Christopher Smyth, English Street; Mrs Philip Sulley.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

Honorary Members.

E. G. Baker, F.L.S., British Museum, London.
J. G. Baker, F.R.S., Royal Herbarium, Kew.
Arthur Bennett, F.L.S., Croydon.
George F. Black, Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.
J. Harvie Brown, F.L.S., Larbert.
William Carruthers, F.R.S., British Museum, London.
Frederick R. Coles, Corr. M.S.A., Edinburgh.
Dr Anstruther Davidson, Los Angelos.
William Galloway, Whithorn.
Dr James Grant, LL.D., Bey, Cairo.
Peter Gray, Dumfries.
Alexander M'Millan, Castle-Douglas.
James MacDonald, LL.D., F.S.A., Edinburgh.
Sir Herbert E. Maxwell, Bart., M P., F.S.A.
Alexander D. Murray (former Secretary), Newcastle.
Dr David Sharp, F.R.S., Cambridge.
Dr Robert Hibbert Taylor, F.B.S. Ed., Liverpool.
William Thomson, Kirkcudbright.
Joseph Wilson (former Secretary), Liverpool.

Members.

John Adair, Rotchell Park.
Sir Andrew N. Agnew, Bart., M.A., Lochnaw.
John Carlyle Aitken, Kirkcudbright.
Miss Margaret Aitken, St. Albans, Maxwelltown.
John M. Aitken, Norwood, Lockerbie.
William Allan, Irving Street.
Rev. William Andson, Newall Terrace.
Joseph J. Armistead, Newabbey.
Samuel Arnott, Carsethorn.
William Barber, M.A., Terreran.
James Barbour, Architect, St. Christopher's.
Mrs James Barbour, St. Christopher's.

James H. Barbour, C.E., St. Christopher's.
Robert Barbour, Belmont.
Robert Barbour, Solicitor, Rosemount Terrace.
Colonel Edward Blackett, Arbigland.
John Boreland, Auchencairn, Closeburn.
William Bowron, Marchmont.
Thomas M. Brown, Closeburn Castle.
Sir James Crichton Browne, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., Crindau.
Alexander Bryson, Kenmure Terrace.
Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, K.T., Lord-Lieutenant of Dumfriesshire.
Rev. John Cairns, M.A., Ivy Lodge.
Rev. James A. Campbell, Troqueer.
George Campion, B.A., Sheriff-Substitute.
James Carmont, Irish Street.
Frank J. C. Carruthers, Architect, Lockerbie.
Rev. Alexander Chapman, M.A., Castledykes.
Edward J. Chinnock, LL.D., Rector of Dumfries Academy.
Dr Frederick H. Clarke, Buccleuch Street.
Miss Copland, Abbey House, Newabbey.
John F. Cormack, Solicitor, Lockerbie.
Adam J. Corrie, Senwick, Borgue.
John Corrie, Moniaive.
John J. Cowan, Eliock, Sanquhar.
John M. Crabbie, F.S.A., Duncow.
John Cumming, Albany Lodge.
James Davidson, F.I.C., Summerville.
John Davidson, Crichton Cottages.
Rev. John R. Denham, S. John's.
William Dickie, Laurieknowe.
William A. Dinwiddie, Buccleuch Street.
Miss Dobie, Penfillan House, Penpont.
John W. Dods, St. Mary's Place.
Bernard Drummond, Moffat.
William Duncan, Rotchell Park.
John H. Edmondson, Riddingwood.
Captain Robert Cutlar-Fergusson, Craigdarroch.
Joseph Gillon Fergusson, Isle.
James Fingland, Thornhill.
Rev. James Fraser, D.D., Colvend.
Thomas Fraser, High Street, Dalbeattie.

Mrs Gilchrist, Linwood.
John Grierson, Town-Clerk.
Robert Gordon, 22 Old Broad Street, London.
William M. Graham, Mossknowe.
Robert Grierson, Castle-Douglas.
John Gunning, Victoria Road.
Mrs Gunning, Victoria Road.
Miss Hamilton, Victoria Road.
Miss Hannay, Calderbank.
Miss Jane Hannay, Calderbank.
John Henderson, Claremont.
Lord Herries, Lord-Lieutenant of the Stewartry.
James Herries, Loreburn Park.
Alexander Young Herries, Spottes.
J. J. Hope-Johnstone, Raehills.
Matthew Jamieson, Craigelvin.
David J. Jardine, Applegarth.
John Thorburn Johnstone, Moffat.
Duncan James Kay, Drumpark.
John Kerr, Blountfield, Ruthwell.
Rev. Thomas Kidd, Moniaive.
Thomas Laing, Noblehill.
Rev. Sir Emilius Laurie, Bart., M.A., Maxwelton House.
James Lennox, F.S.A., Edenbank.
James M'Andrew, New-Galloway.
James M'Call, Caitloch.
Miss M'Cracken, York Place.
James C. R. Macdonald, M.A., W.S., Maryville.
Mrs James H. M'Gowan, Ellangowan.
Thomas M'Gowan, Rotchell.
Colonel Edward Mackenzie, Auchenskeoch.
William D. Mackenzie, Fawley Court, Henley-on-Thames.
Matthew S. M'Kerrow, Boreland of Southwick.
Thomas C. M'Kettrick, Viewfield.
Miss M'Kie, Moat House.
John M'Kie, Anchorlea, Kirkcudbright.
Thomas M'Kie, F.S.A., Advocate, Edinburgh.
Rev. John D. M'Kinnon, Newall Terrace.
Dr James MacLachlan, Lockerbie.
Samuel Macmillan, Moffat.
Alexander Malcolm, Priestlands.

Colonel William E. Malcolm, Burnfoot.
Mrs M'Tier, Ladyfield.
Wellwood H. Maxwell, F.S.A., Munches.
Wellwood Maxwell, F.S.A., Kirkennan.
William J. Maxwell, M.A., Terraughtie.
William J. Maxwell, Terregles Banks.
William M. Maxwell, Rotchell Park.
Frank Miller, Annan.
Miss Milligan, Irish Street.
John A. Moodie, Irish Street.
Thomas A. Moryson, Montague Street.
Miss Mounsey, Ludlow.
Robert Murray, George Street.
Mrs Murray, George Street.
William Murray, Murraythwaite.
George Neilson, F.S.A., Glasgow.
John Neilson, M.A., Catherine Street.
John Nicholson, Stapleton Grange.
Charles S. Phyn, Procurator-Fiscal.
Rev. Patrick M. Playfair, M.A., Glencairn.
John Primrose, Arundel House.
John Proudfoot, Ivy Lodge, Moffat.
Rev. D. Ogilvy-Ramsay, D.D., Closeburn.
Miss Ramsay, Closeburn.
David W. Rannie, M.A., Conheath.
Frank Reid, St. Catherine's.
Rev. Henry M. B. Reid, B.D., Balmaghie.
Sir Robert T. Reid, M.A., Q.C., M.P., Mouswald.
Richard Rimmer, M.A., F.L.S., Dalawoodie.
George H. Robb, M.A., Nithmount.
Miss Robb, Castle Street.
Dr J. M. Robertson, Penpont.
William D. Robinson Douglas, M.A., F.L.S., Orchardton.
John Robson, Clerk to the County Council.
John K. Rogerson, Gowanlea, Holywood.
Dr James Maxwell Ross, M.A., Victoria Road.
James Rutherford, M.D., Crichton House.
John Rutherford, Jardineton.
Henry Sawyer, Greenbrae.
Alexander Scott, Annan.
Mrs Scott-Elliot, Newton.